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CURRENT HISTORY

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With Index



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Current HISTORY

April



1930

Religion in the Soviet Union

- I—An Interpretation of the Conflict.....*John Dewey*
- II—History of the Conflict.....*Edgar S. Furniss*
- III—A Roman Catholic Indictment...*Edmund A. Walsh*
- IV—The Soviet Point of View.....*Harold Kellock*

Paul von Hindenburg.....*Albert B. Faust*

Downward Trend of Employment.....*Ernest Eberling*

Cardinal Gasparri*Walter Littlefield*

American Troops in Russia (1918-1919)

- I—Reasons for American Intervention.....“X”
- II—Experience of a “Non Com”.....*Ernest Reed*
- III—Fighting in “Frozen Hell”.....*Gordon W. Smith*

Germany's Lost Colonies Under Mandates.. *Heinrich Schnee*

America's Mass Education.....*John Dugdale*

Our Work in Haiti.....*R. Nelson Fuller*

American Prison Methods Attacked.. *Albert Bushnell Hart*

Month's History of 50 Nations.....*Fourteen Historians*

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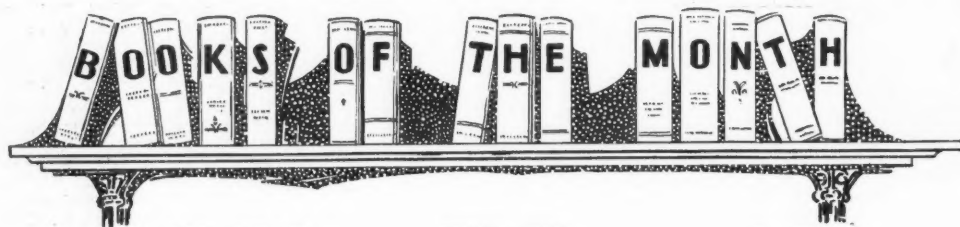
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CURRENT HISTORY



VOL. XXXII.

APRIL, 1930.

No. 1.

THE THIRD and latest volume of Rupert Hughes's biography of Washington (*George Washington, the Savior of the States, 1777-1781*. New York: William Morrow & Co. \$5), the first two volumes of which have already aroused so much controversy, goes even further in its frankly realistic painting of the great founder of these United States and of his collaborators and contemporaries. The writer's clear intention is to dig down to the very roots of truth, even if, in so doing, he has to remove a number of time-consecrated and sacrosanct national haloes.

Regarding the contemporaries, he proves his charge of "the corruption, political, military and financial, of the Revolutionary War," out of Washington's own mouth; not even Mr. Hughes could be severer than was Washington in his denunciations of those responsible for these conditions, which obstructed and harassed him continually. But it would seem that this biographer, who, like others, has deserted the ranks of the fiction writers to swell the 1,000 or more biographies of Washington that already exist, has over-generalized the significance of Washington's words, which apparently refer to flagrant and abnormal cases.

With regard to Washington himself, Mr. Hughes, fired with "debunking" ardor to tear away "the smothering mantle of laurels and immortelles that have been heaped to heaven by the orators and prose poets," as he says in another connection, grimly attacks the consecrated legends—that Washington prayed at Valley Forge according to the Isaac Potts "legend," that he did not write the famous "Washington's Prayer," that he was not a religious man, though admittedly an attending member of the Episcopal Church, that he did not aid the famous Betsy Ross in designing the American flag, that the Stars and Stripes were never flown in the Revolu-

tionary War. Most of this new view of Washington's religious attitude is very dubious and still not definitely proved, despite Mr. Hughes's dynamic attacks, which disregard some of Washington's most momentous public utterances.

It is highly probable that the national reverence so long accorded Washington's name as "the Savior of the States" will remain unimpaired by the verbal onslaughts of Mr. Hughes and other representatives of the "debunking school" of modern biographers. Mr. Hughes has dug into the old records and musty tomes of Revolutionary days with marvelous patience and astonishing perseverance. He has seemed always bent on finding the disagreeable, scandalous and derogatory phases of Revolutionary annals and personalities, but when all his voluminous revelations are reviewed and weighed in the balance, the figure of Washington, even in Mr. Hughes's own opinion, emerges with a new majesty, making us realize, more than ever before, both his personal greatness and his matchless statesmanship.

* * *

Dr. Barton's absorbingly interesting book on Lincoln's Gettysburg address, which has reached its greatest fame in our own days (*Lincoln At Gettysburg*. By William E. Barton. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$4), is a most valuable contribution to a subject of national importance. For the Gettysburg address fell utterly flat on the audience assembled for the dedication of the national cemetery there. It was severely criticized by Lincoln's colleagues; even Lincoln himself wrote of it afterward that it fell on the audience "like a wet blanket," and, considering himself to blame for turning out a poor production, declared that he should have spent more care and labor on the writing of it.

This premised, it must be said that Dr.

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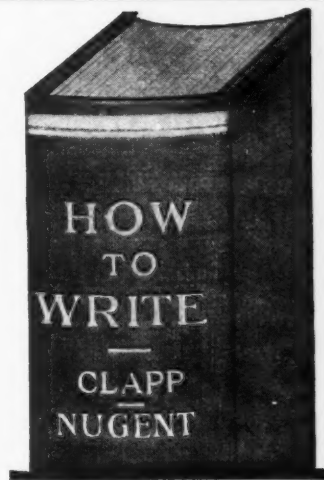
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Barton, a well-known authority on Lincoln, has nobly risen to the occasion to vindicate the judgment of the world today that this historic address, as Lord Curzon called it in 1913, is "the masterpiece of modern English eloquence." Besides relating the effect of the speech at Gettysburg, he discusses the various versions, criticizes and freely admits the speech's defects, and analyzes its probable origins. His final judgment, that "the Gettysburg address will be printed and recited and translated and cast in durable bronze" in the long years to come, is merely a voicing of the considered opinion of the greatest scholars and critics of our English-speaking world today.

* * *

In *Coxey's Army* (A Study in Industrial Unrest, 1893-1898. By Donald L. McMurray. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.) we have a book that will interest every American student of industrial unrest either of yesterday or today. In 1893, as in 1930, a business and financial panic prevailed, and the various motley armies of unemployed that "marched on Washington," of which that led by General Coxey was the most famous, were a sensational and grotesque protest against the widespread economic distress prevailing. This study by Mr. McMurray is interesting reading, especially in its recalling of the seriousness with which the movement was taken, even by Wall Street. "Coxey's March" had no effect at all, but his fiat money scheme and populist doctrines, embroidered with Christian Messianic camouflage, were the precursors of a popular ferment of new theories that nearly swept William Jennings Bryan and the Free Silverites into power later on.

* * *

In *500 Criminal Careers* (By Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$5) we have a study which is bound to leave a most painful impression on the mind of every American reader concerned with the sociological aspects of our civilization. This is a survey of the later careers of 500 prisoners released from the Massachusetts reformatory. It shows that from five to fifteen years later 80 per cent of them were continuing criminal careers, and had collectively been arrested 1,944 times.

The mere statement of these facts may or may not constitute, as has been claimed, an appalling indictment of our present penological system. It is clear, at least, that the findings of this book, however inadequately documented, may bear a

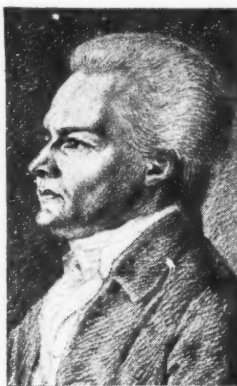
message which should be heeded by our criminologists. But it cannot be denied that it represents a dangerous American tendency to "coddle the criminal" and to blame our criminal laws and systems of criminal correction for incorrigible criminal tendencies which would defy correction under any system.

* * *

Hey! Yellowbacks! (The War Diary of a Conscientious Objector. By Ernest L. Meyer. New York: The John Day Company. \$2) is an extraordinary record of the sufferings of a young American college man of German ancestry who refused to fight, or even to wear an American uniform, when the United States entered the World War—and who faced the consequences. Imprisoned, degraded, harshly treated in various prisons, he "saw it through"—meanwhile recording his impressions. This is a sordid and distressing story, but valuable for its study of the psychology of his fellow-objectors, many of whom, like the Mennonites, were adherents of religious sects. The saddest aspect of the whole work is its futility.

* * *

Professor Robertson's new study of the great Venezuelan patriot Francisco Miranda (*The Life of Miranda*. By William Spence Robertson, Ph. D., Professor of



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History, University of Illinois. Two vols. The University of North Carolina Press. \$10) is based on sixty-three folio volumes of Miranda's lost documents, discovered by Professor Robertson in England. The many revelations they contained made the entire rewriting of Miranda's life a necessity; hence the significance

and importance of the present volumes.

The coolness of judgment and the impartiality shown by Professor Robertson are thoroughly admirable. A monument of scholarly research, this study follows the romantic career of Miranda from his birth in Caracas in 1750 through his adventurous life abroad to his ill-fated expedition to Venezuela from New York, his subsequent battles for Venezuelan freedom at the side of the great Simon Bolivar and his surrender to the Spaniards

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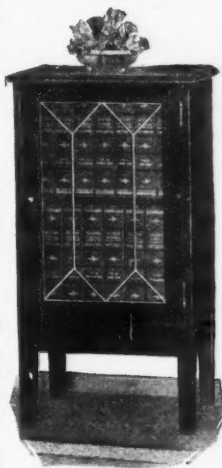
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at San Mateo. The epilogue is his imprisonment in a Spanish dungeon till his death on July 14, 1816. This biographer makes no attempt to avoid the ugly charges of treachery to the cause of Venezuelan independence made against Miranda because of his surrender of San Mateo, but his final conclusion is that Miranda's ultimate purpose was to renew the struggle later.

* * *

A new biography of General James Wolfe, the famous British commander who captured Quebec, would be justified only by a new interpretation, and Colonel Whitton's recently published work (*Wolfe and North America*. By Lieut. Col. J. E. Whitton. Boston: Little Brown & Co. \$4) gives us precisely that. After tracing Wolfe's early military career in England and his swift promotions despite his constitutional bad health, he studies the great achievement at Quebec undertaken by Wolfe as Major General at the age of 32, and concludes that the importance of Wolfe in the city's capture (in which he was killed) has been very much overrated to the disadvantage of other factors involved. Incidentally, he proves that another great literary legend must be given up: Wolfe's famous remark that he would rather be the author of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* than take Quebec was not made in the course of his passage down the river on the night of the assault, but during an earlier reconnaissance.

* * *

The Paris Gun (By Henry W. Miller. New York: Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith. \$3.75) is one of those books that fascinate because they arouse in the reader conflicting emotions. The story told here by Mr. Miller for the first time after the lapse of twelve years' time of how the Germans, by the exercise of amazing technical ingenuity, found it possible to build a gun capable of bombarding Paris from a distance of seventy-five miles—an unheard of precedent in the annals of military ballistics—is the story of a scientific achievement which would seem deserving of every admiration.

But when one reads of the deadly effects of the aggregate 367 great shells shot at a terrific speed and pressure from a trajectory of twenty-four miles over seventy-five miles of country, into the French capital, the moral implications overcome the involuntary tribute to the achievement. The tragedy of Good Friday, 1918, when the Church of St. Gervais was hit while crowded with worshippers, and eighty-eight men, women

and children were killed and sixty-eight injured, seems very terrible from humanitarian standpoints. But as General Sherman once suggested, war is a lethal business, and perhaps the Germans with their purely objective and scientific conception of it, were merely more logical—as they were generally more efficient—in their method of conducting it. At any rate, they did not see the moral side of it at all, but merely the successful working out of a mechanical problem. The psychological effect—the repeated casualties, the amazement, confusion and horror that resulted, causing an exodus of 1,000,000 people from Paris—is grippingly related, and the details of the building, emplacement and operation of the German "Big Berthas," each as high as a ten-story building and weighing 200 tons, are of absorbing interest.

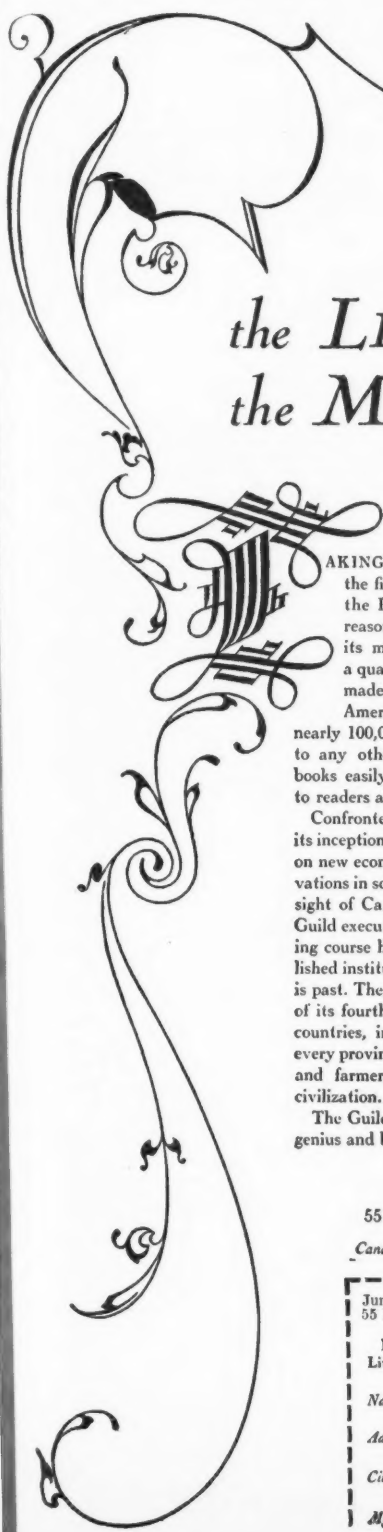
* * *

Raging, bitter, mordantly sarcastic, utterly disillusioned, Georges Clemenceau sat in the twilight of his days, talking with Jean Martet, his devoted war secretary, about his tempestuous life, his travels, his philosophy—above all, his memories of the World War—searing, blistering memories these. And Jean Martet, beginning in 1927, wrote it all down; and his recently published book (*Clemenceau*. By Jean Martet. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.), is the fruit of his labors.

This is a book not easily forgotten. The flaming words attributed to Clemenceau have all the ring and authenticity of truth. On his conduct of the war. On his dislike of Foch, and why he fought to keep him in power—*pour la patrie!* On the Versailles treaty, and what it brought. On what he himself accomplished; on the futilities, blunders and failures of his successors—especially Poincaré. How many burning subjects, under Martet's skillful questioning, did he not discuss. Martet's book may be colored, exaggerated, but Clemenceau, brutal, ruthless, ironic, cynical, bitter, brooding in the smoldering ashes of his life, a very giant of a man with all his faults, is there.

* * *

The main point made by Gustav Amann, in his history of the Chinese Revolution (*The Legacy of Sun Yat-sen*. New York: Louis Carrier & Co., \$3.75), is this: that though Sun was badly used by his political opponents he and his revolutionary doctrines are glorified today throughout all China, and are even exploited by those who opposed him and have supplanted him, even by Chiang Kai-shek. This is the legacy of Sun Yat-sen, and amidst the



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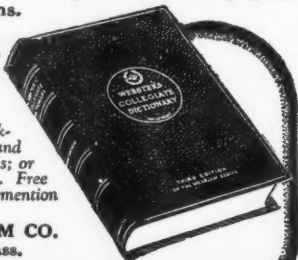
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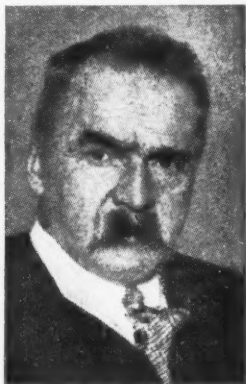
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Pilsudski and Poland

By FREDERIC A. OGG

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

ROM LANDAU'S study of Pilsudski is not a book of formal biography, still less of formal history.* A chronological thread runs through it, but rarely comes to the surface; no documents are cited; the achievements of the remarkable figure who dominates it must be read largely between the lines, if at all. It is an impressionistic portrait of a romantic personality, done by an imaginative writer whose last claim would be that of historian, political expert or military critic. Nevertheless, the volume is interesting and important. It deals with an outstanding figure in the politics of Europe in the last two decades—a personality around which, more than any other, has revolved the highly dramatic life of a re-created post-war nationality.



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**Pilsudski and Poland*. By Rom Landau. Translated by Geoffrey Dunlop. 305 pages. New York: The Dial Press. 1929. \$5.

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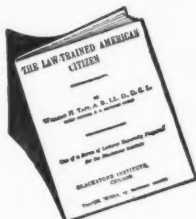
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his country and the founder of its first newspaper, while all the time growing in the conviction of his own personal mission as his people's savior. Arrests, flights, hair-breadth escapes and deeds of daring filled the years. But Pilsudski, of aristocratic birth, had turned to socialism only as an instrumentality for clearing the ground for a successful revolt against Russia; and when it appeared that Socialists were likely to go on subordinating Polish independence to economic reform, he turned to another expedient which he hoped and believed would be more effective, i. e., the building up of a Polish army. Starting in 1908, he mastered military science, and, operating in the relatively freer Austrian Poland, gathered about him a band of disciplined recruits.

In time the World War came, and with it the great opportunity. Hardly had the powers entered upon the contest before Pilsudski started a war of his own upon Russia, nominally in support of a more or less mythical "people's government" at Warsaw, and, later, theoretically in the service of Austria-Hungary, though at all times on lines largely of his own planning. There is no doubt that these forces were mainly responsible for clearing Galicia, in 1915, of the Russian invader.

Operating largely as a free lance, and striking now in this direction and again in that, the self-constituted leader fell into a position by 1917 such that the Central Powers could not tell whether he was friend or foe; and when he was caught trying to enter Warsaw with a false passport he was arrested and thrown into prison at Magdeburg, where he was held until shortly before the armistice. Released as the war's end loomed in view, he hastened to Warsaw, where an improvised citizens' council made over its power to him and named him Chief of State and Commander General of the Polish forces. What was, in effect, his first period of Dictatorship—a Dictatorship "by the will of the people"—now began.

Then follows the drama whose successive acts were written in the Ukraine, on the Vistula and in Vilna. There was glory and also humiliation. The Red wave set in motion from Moscow was stayed. But the Ukraine was lost and Vilna gained only under circumstances that have made it a danger spot on the European map to this day. For whatever was done Pilsudski was primarily responsible, and gratitude of Western Europe for deliverance from the menace of Moscow was mingled with misgivings stirred by the Dictator's frankly imperialistic plans for Polish domi-

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nance in the East. As for Pilsudski himself, though hailed by his countrymen as a genius and hero of the first order, he was far from satisfied with the ends attained.

Meanwhile, permanent republican government was gradually hammered into shape. A Constitution showing much French influence was adopted in 1921; members of a bicameral Parliament were elected in 1922; and toward the close of the same year a National President was chosen. As M. Landau says, Pilsudski needed only to say the word to be selected as his country's first President. He preferred, however, to be President-maker rather than President; and to this resolution he has steadily adhered to the present day. For four years he had been an extra-legal Chief of State, pending creation of a regular constitutional government; for four more he stayed out of public office, pulling the strings from Sulejowski when Presidents were to be elected, Cabinets formed and important decisions made.

Then came the coup d'état of 1926 and the beginning of the Dictatorship as it exists today. Pilsudski had never been, and is not now, a true democrat. For Parliaments—at all events such as the one sitting at Warsaw—he had no more respect than has Mussolini. Parliament was hopelessly inept; the President was helpless; the Ministers were only beating the air; the Constitution would have to be reformed; and Pilsudski must do the work.

The story of the seizure of the capital, the upsetting of the government and the remaking of the Constitution is outlined vividly in M. Landau's chapter "March on Warsaw." Again refusing the Presidency, the warrior-statesman significantly settled into the portfolio of war, whence from that day to this he has, in effect, ruled the country. As M. Landau briefly points out, there have been striking dissimilarities between Pilsudski's Dictatorship and Mussolini's. The Constitution has not been laid away, but only amended. Political parties, instead of being exterminated (save only for the one which runs, and, in effect, is, the government), have been allowed to continue. The press has been curbed, but not completely muzzled. Public life has not been closed to dissenters and opponents. Mussolini's is a full and complete Dictatorship, operating openly and unashamed. Pilsudski's is a veiled Dictatorship, of sufficiently tolerant and liberal type to steer clear of stirring the hostility of the masses. On

the whole, it is popular—except, of course, among the politicians.

Of the future M. Landau scrupulously refrains from speaking. Instead, he finishes off his fascinating chapters with an epilogue on Pilsudski the man—the mellowing effects of his years, the memories and reflections that sometimes soften, sometimes embitter, his daily existence, his amazement at the puerilities of social and so-called intellectual life, his devotion to his children and his never-dying romanticism. And, though he does not definitely say so, one gathers that he endorses the words of Poland's first and unluckiest President, M. Narutowicz: "History holds many famous names; the names of great men whose contemporaries were too dwarfed to judge them or measure the service they rendered. You, Marshal, are to be numbered among these."

The United States and the Caribbean

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE,
PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES, GEORGE
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IS "TIMELINESS" a quality of prime importance in determining whether a given book is of major significance? If it is, on that ground alone one must consider *The United States and the Caribbean** as worthy of definite notice. But this book is far more than that. It provides an excellent background of fact and opinion, representing more than one point of view, that can not fail to be of value in any consideration or discussion of what is perhaps the major problem perennially facing the United States in the domain of foreign affairs.

The contributions of the three authors may be briefly characterized as follows: Mr. Jones, the director of the School of Commerce, University of Wisconsin, sets the stage for the discussion in a succinct and well-written historical sketch of the political and economic development of the Caribbean region, bringing out in clear relief the factors which bear upon the problem: the comparative unimportance of the region, economically speaking, until the nineteenth century; the lack of experience in self-government during Spanish colonial days; the checkered history, marked by

**The United States and the Caribbean*. By Chester Lloyd Jones, Henry Kittredge Norton, and Parker Thomas Moon (American Policies Abroad Series). 1930. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 230 pages. \$1.50.

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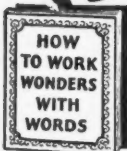
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European interference, political instability, and dictatorships, that followed independence; the economic advance of the last quarter-century; and the increasing inter-relationships between the countries washed by the Caribbean and the United States.

Mr. Norton, a writer on foreign affairs who served as press liaison officer at the Havana Conference of American States, makes a good presentation of the case for the United States. His historical material duplicates to some extent that presented by Mr. Jones. And the real value of his contribution lies in its dispassionate presentation of a point of view held by many Americans. Mr. Norton is frank and fair. So far from being a slavish apologist for our dealings with the Caribbean countries, he is not slow to criticize. He urges "not only a clean-cut, straightforward policy" in the Caribbean (which by implication we have not had) but "the employment in the Caribbean area of emissaries of the highest type as instruments of American policy" (which again by implication has not been the case). Elsewhere he points out that our arms embargo policy in support of existing governments as against revolutionists may result in the United States "lending its strength to the support of tyranny." He admits that our "participation" has not always been "mindful of the susceptibilities of the smaller peoples" and that the fact that "on occasion tragic incidents have occurred is a cause of shame." And when he stresses the benefits that American occupation or control has brought to the Caribbean countries, or declares that "it was and is as inevitable that the United States should participate both politically and economically in the development of the Caribbean as that the sun should exercise its gravitational power upon the earth or the earth upon the moon," he obviously does not regard himself as in any sense an apostle of "manifest destiny."

It is no disparagement of Mr. Norton to say that to the reviewer, at least, the article of Mr. Moon, editor of *The Political Science Quarterly* and Associate Professor of International Relations at Columbia, is the outstanding part of the book. Frankly

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an advocate of a definite point of view, he not only seems to have marshaled an impressive array of evidence to support his opinion but he also has the advantage of not only meeting the arguments of contrary opinion but of making constructive suggestions as to policy which seem to outweigh Mr. Norton's acceptance of things as they are. Oddly enough, though Mr. Moon's point of view belongs to the category which Mr. Norton would probably characterize as "sentimentalism" it is Mr. Moon, the sentimentalist, who faces facts and quotes authorities, and Mr. Norton, the practical man, who presents the sentimental point of view: the attitude of the "big brother" who knows best. That society may regard the chastising and admonishing big brother as a bully does not seem to occur to him, as it does to Mr. Moon, who devotes his final pages to the advocacy of joint international policing of the Caribbean and the supervision of elections, if at all, by the United States with the co-operation of two or three South American nations, or by a board on which citizens of the country are represented, as in Nicaragua.

The German Nationalist Attitude

By ROBERT C. BINKLEY

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, SMITH COLLEGE

A LEADER of the German National People's party, the extreme conservative and monarchist element in contemporary German politics, in a work recently published*, offers America a frank statement of his views. Though his party is monarchist, it will not resort to violence in order to restore the monarchy, and will support the nation whatever may be its form of government. The present Constitution, however, does not give Germany the government best suited to her needs. A stronger Executive is needed; the dependence of the administration upon the Legislature is too great. A readjustment of the relations of the Reich to the States is also necessary, but this readjustment cannot be forced, although at present, especially in financial matters, the decentralization of the German Government is a cause of embarrassment.

In foreign relations the Germans are Europeans, and as Europeans must live

Continued on Page 194

*Germany's Domestic and Foreign Policies. By Otto Hoetzsch. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1929. \$1.50. Williams-town Institute of Politics Publications.

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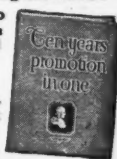
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TABLE OF CONTENTS—APRIL, 1930

No. 1

RELIGION IN THE SOVIET UNION:		
I—THE HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT.....	<i>Edgar S. Furniss</i>	25
	Dean of the Graduate School, Yale University	
II—AN INTERPRETATION OF THE CONFLICT.....	<i>John Dewey</i>	31
	Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University	
III—A ROMAN CATHOLIC INDICTMENT.....	<i>Edmund A. Walsh</i>	36
	Vice President, Georgetown University	
IV—THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW.....	<i>Harold Kellock</i>	38
	American Adviser, Soviet Union Information Bureau, Washington	
PAUL VON HINDENBURG.....	<i>Albert B. Faust</i>	41
	Professor of German, Cornell University	
DOWNWARD TREND OF EMPLOYMENT.....	<i>Ernest J. Eberling</i>	47
	Professor of Economics, Vanderbilt University	
CARDINAL GASPARRI.....	<i>Walter Littlefield</i>	53
	Officer of the Crown of Italy	
AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA IN 1918:		
I—THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT'S POLICY.....		59
II—THE STORY OF THE A. E. F. IN NORTHERN RUSSIA.....	<i>Ernest Reed</i>	64
III—WAGING WAR IN "FROZEN HELL".....	<i>Gordon W. Smith</i>	69
MASS EDUCATION IN AMERICA.....	<i>John Dugdale</i>	71
	Oxford graduate; Staff of <i>The Spectator</i> , London	
THE MANDATE SYSTEM IN GERMANY'S LOST COLONIES.....	<i>Heinrich Schnee</i>	76
	Former Governor of German East Africa	
THE FAILURE OF MINOR PARTIES.....	<i>Elmer Ellis</i>	81
	History Department, University of Iowa	
AMERICAN ACHIEVEMENTS IN HAITI.....	<i>R. Nelson Fuller</i>	86
	Staff of the Dictionary of American Biography	
PSEUDO-HISTORY AND PSEUDO-PSYCHOLOGY.....	<i>James J. Walsh</i>	91
	Former President, American Catholic Historical Society	
ABYSSINIA, AN AFRICAN SOVEREIGN STATE.....	<i>Oliver McKee</i>	96
	Washington Correspondent, <i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	
LEGUA, THE MAKER OF PRESENT-DAY PERU.....	<i>Ignatius Phayre</i>	103
REDISCOVERING ALASKA FROM THE AIR.....	<i>Andrew R. Boone</i>	108
SHIFT OF POPULATION AS AFFECTED BY INDUSTRY.....	<i>Merlo J. Pusey</i>	112
AMERICAN PRISON METHODS ATTACKED.....	<i>Albert Bushnell Hart</i>	117
	Professor Emeritus, Harvard University	
DISCOVERIES OF HELIUM (RECENT SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS).....	<i>Watson Davis</i>	120
	Managing Editor, Science Service, Washington	
AERIAL EVENTS OF THE MONTH.....		124
CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOONS.....		125
NEW ZEALAND.....	<i>H. E. T. Coston and Fraser G. Baddeley</i>	181
WORLD FINANCE—A MONTH'S SURVEY.....	<i>Bernhard Ostrolenk</i>	206
	Editorial Board, <i>The Annalist</i>	
A MONTH'S WORLD HISTORY.....		<i>Current History Associates</i> 131-180
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART	HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE	SIDNEY B. FAY
JAMES THAYER GEROULD	RALSTON HAYDEN	JOHN H. WUORINEN
CHARLES W. HACKETT	OTHON G. GUERLAC	ELOISE ELLERY
		EDGAR S. FURNISS
		ALBERT HOWE LYBYER
		HAROLD S. QUIGLEY
BOOK REVIEWS:		
BOOKS OF THE MONTH.....	<i>Francis Snow</i>	2
PILSUDSKI AND POLAND.....	<i>Frederic A. Ogg</i>	8
THE UNITED STATES AND THE CARIBBEAN.....	<i>Henry Grattan Doyle</i>	13
THE GERMAN NATIONALIST ATTITUDE.....	<i>Robert C. Binkley</i>	15
THE NAVAL BLOCKADE.....	<i>Jonathan F. Scott</i>	194
SHERMAN: SOLDIER, REALIST, AMERICAN.....	<i>Thomas R. Hay</i>	195
AFRICA AND SOME WORLD PROBLEMS.....	<i>C. V. Van der Merwe</i>	197
UNITING EUROPE.....	<i>James T. Gerould</i>	198
BRYAN, THE PEERLESS LEADER.....	<i>J. C. Long</i>	199
VAN BUREN, POLITICIAN AND PRESIDENT.....	<i>William MacDonald</i>	200
AMERICA CONQUERS BRITAIN.....	<i>Nicholas Roosevelt</i>	201
THE ISKRA PERIOD.....	<i>V. F. Calverton</i>	202
THE JEWS IN THE CHRISTIAN ERA.....	<i>Leo Gershow</i>	203
RECENT IMPORTANT BOOKS.....	<i>James T. Gerould</i>	204
PICTURES IN ROTOGRAVURE.....		17-24
TO AND FROM OUR READERS.....	<i>Editorial Department</i>	189
[THE TITLES OF THE ARTICLES, ALSO THE BIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES TO THE AUTHORS, IN CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, ARE WRITTEN BY THE EDITORS] [Contents copyrighted 1930 by The New York Times Company]		

Pictorial Section



Underwood & Underwood

GATES W. MCGARRAH

Who on Feb. 26 was offered the Presidency of the new World Bank by the governors of the central banks of England, France, Germany, Belgium and Italy and a representative of the Bank of Japan. Mr. McGarrah had been Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York since 1927

THE NEW SOLICITOR GENERAL

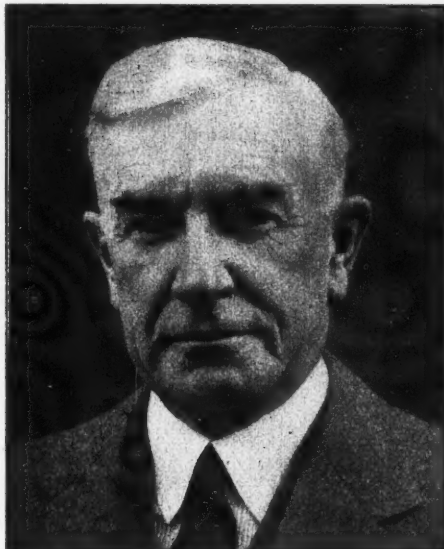


Underwood & Underwood

THOMAS DAY THACHER

Federal Judge of the Southern District of New York, appointed Solicitor General on Feb. 20 to succeed Charles E. Hughes Jr., who resigned when his father became Chief Justice

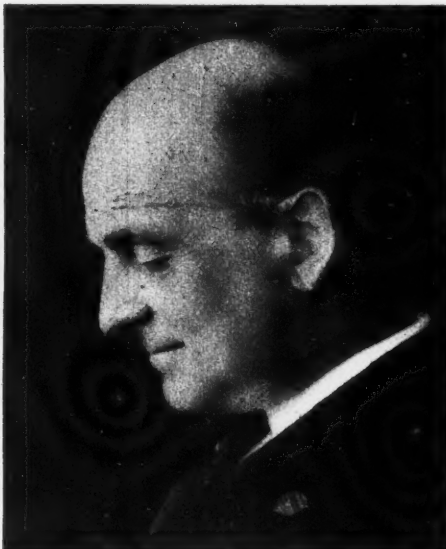
INVESTIGATING CONDITIONS IN HAITI



Associated Press

HENRY P. FLETCHER

Former United States envoy to Mexico,
Chile, Italy and Belgium



Underwood & Underwood

W. CAMERON FORBES

Chairman of the committee appointed
by President Hoover on Feb. 8 to study
conditions in Haiti. Mr. Forbes was
Governor General of the Philippines
1909-1913



Clinedinst Studio

JAMES KERNEY

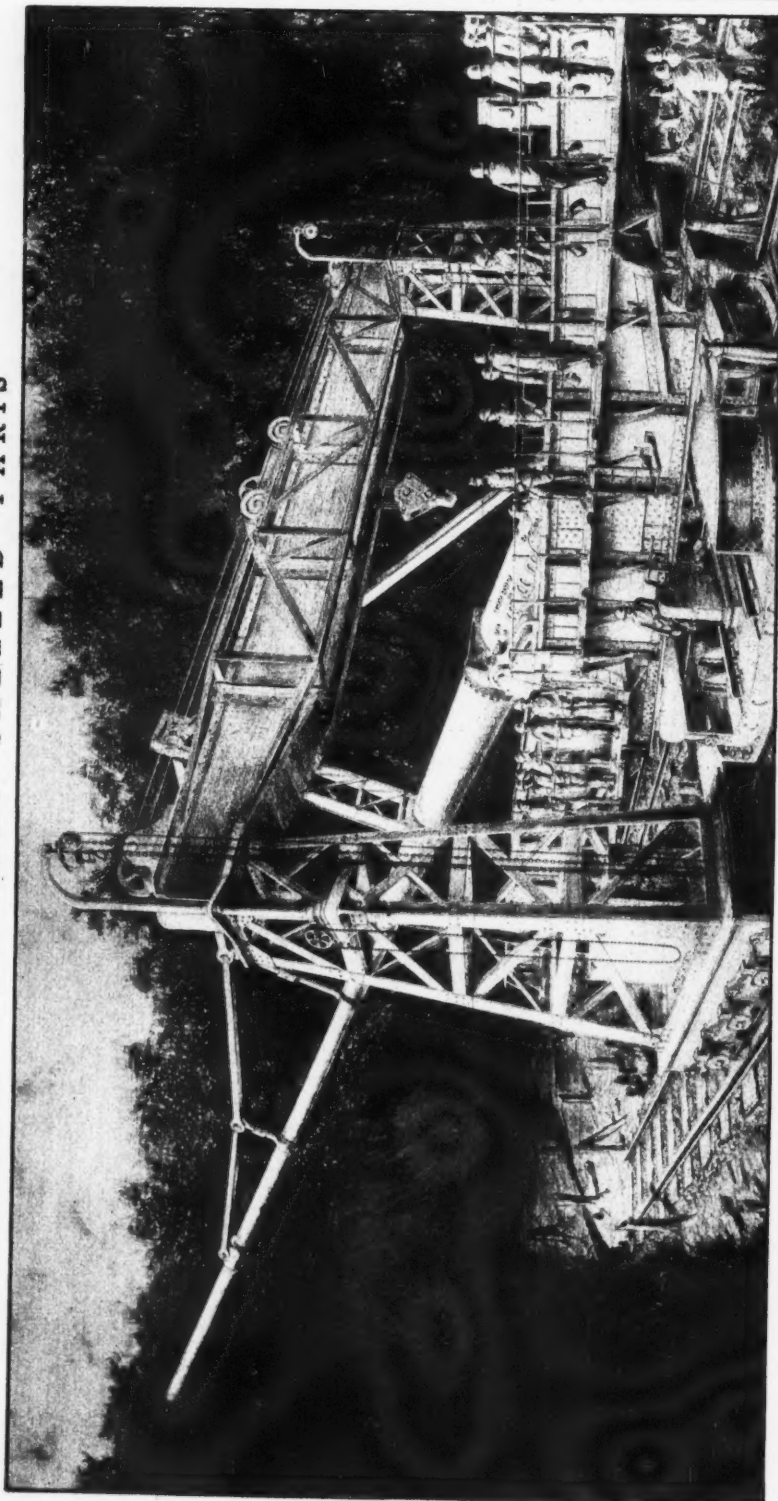
Editor of *The Trenton Times* (New
Jersey) and director of American war
information abroad, 1918



WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Editor of *The Emporia Gazette*
(Kansas)

THE GUN THAT SHELLED PARIS



Courtesy Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith, Publ., "The Paris Gun," by Henry W. Miller

MODEL OF THE GERMAN "BIG BERTHA"
 The first accurate drawing of the mysterious German guns which bombarded Paris on March 20, 1918, and for months thereafter, from a range of seventy-five miles, spreading terror in the French capital. This drawing was made by Colonel Henry W. Miller, Chief Engineer in charge of Heavy Artillery, U. S. Army during the war

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tions, who
recently
launched,
through his
newspapers,
a crusade for
a new politi-
cal party
aiming at
free trade
within the
British
Empire and
a tariff wall
around it



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Proprietor of a
group of news-
papers headed
by The Lon-
don *Daily*
Mail, who
joined his
competitor
in journalism,
Lord Beaver-
brook, in
founding the
"United
Empire"
party
New York Times
Studio

COLOMBIA'S NEW PRESIDENT



Underwood & Underwood

ENRIQUE OLAYA HERRERA

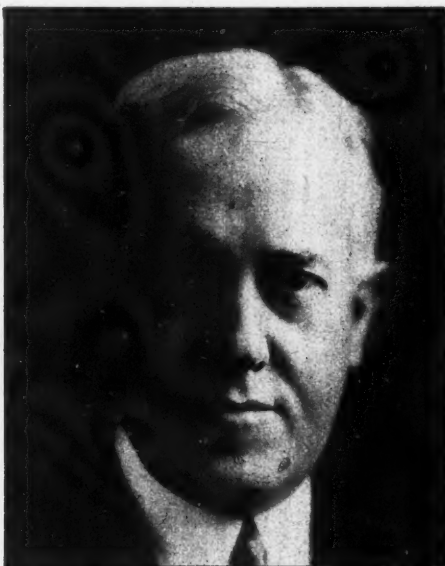
Former Minister to the United States, who was elected President of Colombia by a large majority on Feb. 9. He favors the "open door" policy in the development of Colombian oil resources

PRINCETON'S NEW SCHOOL FOR STATESMEN



Keystone Views

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN
President of Princeton University, who on Feb. 22 announced the creation of a school of public and international affairs to train young men for participation in a "world community"



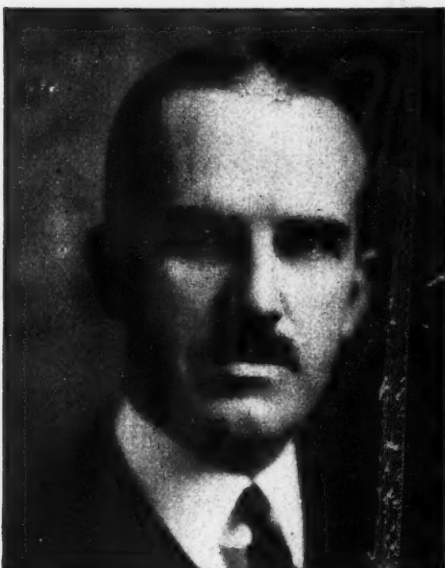
JOHN W. DAVIS

A member of the advisory board of Princeton's new school



Associated Press

EDWIN W. KEMMERER
Director of the Bureau of International Finance, appointed a member of the school's administrative committee



Harris & Ewing

DE WITT CLINTON POOLE
Former Counselor of the United States Embassy in Berlin, who was named resident member of the advisory board and member of the administrative committee

DEATH OF PAPAL DIPLOMAT



RAPHAEL CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL Times Wide World
Papal Secretary of State under Pius X and for many years a powerful influence
in political affairs at the Vatican, who died on Feb. 26. He was of mixed
Spanish and Irish descent

Current HISTORY

Religion in the Soviet Union

I—The History of the Conflict

By EDGAR S. FURNISS

DEAN OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, YALE UNIVERSITY

PRESS COMMENT on Russian affairs during the past month has been dominated by a storm of protest from all quarters of the Western World against the anti-religion policy of the Soviet Government. Similar protests have come from individual religious leaders and church bodies at intervals ever since the revolution, but never before has this reaction taken the form of an organized movement embracing all the great religious denominations of Western Europe and America. The present temper of religious feeling constitutes, therefore, a new and formidable factor in Russian affairs.

The movement of protest began on Feb. 8 with the publication of a letter from the Pope to the Vicar-General of Rome indicting the Soviet régime for its "numberless atrocities, ungodly campaign and wholesale arrest of Christians," and calling upon the whole Christian world to join him in prayer

on March 19 for the cessation of Bolshevik terror against the churches. The following day, the French Protestant Federation, at a meeting which included the Metropolitan of the Russian Church in France and the Grand Rabbi of the French Jews, passed resolutions denouncing Russian religious policy. On Feb. 12, the Archbishop of Canterbury presented a scathing condemnation of the Soviet policy before the Convocation of the Church of England, and called all Anglican communicants to prayer on March 16 for intercession for Russia. The National Council of the Free Churches of England took similar action two days later. In this country, on Feb. 16, Bishop Manning, head of the Episcopal Diocese of New York, endorsing the action of the Vatican and the Archbishop of Canterbury, invited the ministers and people of all faiths to a special service at the Cathedral of St. John to be held March 16. Official action of a similar character was



Associated Press

CATHEDRAL OF ST. BASIL
One of Moscow's most famous churches, built by
Ivan the Terrible

promptly taken by other religious denominations in the United States, while throughout the country at large, individual ministers, priests and rabbis called upon their congregations to join the movement of protest. International organizations, such as the World Alliance for Friendship of Churches, and many non-religious associations of a cultural and educational nature have added their voices to the chorus of denunciation. By the end of the month, the movement had spread through the principal countries of the world.

This overwhelming pressure of public opinion immediately made its influence felt in the political world. In the British Parliament, the MacDonald Government, put on the defensive to justify the continuance of Anglo-Russian relations, was obliged to give assurances that investigation would be made by Britain's agents in Russia and appropriate action taken if the charges

were verified. Baldwin's speech at Belfast on Feb. 14 made it clear that the Conservative party would turn the state of public opinion to account in its attack upon the Russian policy of the Labor party. This policy was defended by Mr. MacDonald in a letter made public on Feb. 24. Speaking of the agitation as "inspired by politics as much as by religious toleration" Mr. MacDonald said: "The government is much concerned with what is going on. The history of religion in Russia, however, is unfortunately full of records of persecution. The revolutionary mentality is an active will riding roughshod cruelly over every obstacle, real or imaginary. That is not the question at issue. Rather have we to consider what we can do. In reference to our diplomatic recognition of the Russian State, that was decided upon purely practical political grounds and was

given, as always has been and must be the case, without reference to internal beliefs or policies. No one has laid down that principle more clearly than Lord Salisbury, and agitation inspired by politics as much as by religious toleration must not deflect any government from pursuing the ordinary rules of international relationships and prudence."

In France and Germany, too, demands have been made from powerful quarters that the diplomatic policy of these countries be modified in the light of disclosures regarding religious persecution in the Soviet Union. The French Chamber of Deputies took unprecedented action when it invited M. Miliukov, former Minister in the Kerensky régime in Russia, to address it on current conditions in the Soviet Union. Miliukov, a bitter enemy of the Bolsheviks, painted a gloomy picture of ter-

rorism and misery in Russia, and predicted the complete failure of the present Communist program. On Feb. 19 the American Committee on Religious Rights addressed an appeal to President Hoover that the recognition of Russia by this country be made conditional upon the cessation of religious persecution. At the same time, Representative Fish introduced in the House a concurrent resolution which asked Congress officially to deplore religious persecution in Russia and to express the desire of the United States to cooperate with other nations to persuade the Soviets to end it. Senator Borah's cablegram of Feb. 22 addressed to the Soviet Government requesting information, though referring specifically to the fate of fourteen rabbis of the Jewish community of Minsk who had been arrested on charges of counter-revolution, was obviously inspired by the widespread opposition to the general policy of the Communists. It was later announced that only three rabbis were being held on counter-revolutionary grounds. Rumania has seized upon the opportunity to arouse the small States of Central Europe over the alleged concentration of Soviet troops upon the Bessarabian frontier, while in China the Nanking Government has been emboldened to the point of repudiating the arrangements made by the Mukden representatives for the settlement of the dispute over the Chinese Eastern Railway.

To what extent are the charges of religious persecution founded on fact? The indictment, as promulgated by the leaders of Christian and Jewish opinion, is specific, detailed and circumstantial. It refers to a long record of execution, imprisonment and exile, the seizure of church property, the extinction of parish communities, a consistently blasphemous, revolting and obscene propaganda under the auspices of the Soviet Government. On the other hand, these charges have been refuted in so far as they argue a denial of religious liberty in Russia. On Feb. 14, and again

on Feb. 18, Metropolitan Sergius, head of the Russian Church, and the members of his synod, denied emphatically that either the church organizations or their individual members had ever suffered persecution at the hands of the Communists. The specific cases of punishment administered to priests and communicants, as well as the closing of churches and the seizure of religious property, were represented as in accordance with law and in the interests of the country. Dr. Joseph A. Rosen, head of the Russian agency of the American Society for Jewish Farm Settlements, published a similar denial of the charges as far as they had reference to the welfare of the Russian Jews, and submitted many evidences that the Soviet Government was giving generous financial and moral support to the movement he represents. As usual, the radical labor journals of Europe and America have dismissed the whole matter as disingenuous propaganda of the capitalist enemies of Russia. In an interview which appeared in *The New York Sun* on Feb. 26, Alexis Rykov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, is reported to have said, in defense of Soviet policy: "It is quite true that the number of churches in the Soviet Union has decreased considerably. This is due to various social, economic and political reasons." On the other hand, M. Rykov said, in every case of punishment of priests the action has been the result of counter-revolutionary activity, churches have been closed only upon the request of the local community or because of lack of support, and the Soviet Union grants entire freedom to all religious beliefs.

Despite these denials, there can be no doubt as to the truth of the specific charges against the Russian Government. Communism is itself a religion, its attitude toward other religious allegiances is one of uncompromising opposition. Its antagonism to the Christian Church in Russia is embittered by the fact that that Church was for centuries a partner of the State and its priesthood has never become fully rec-



THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY CROSS

The religious fervor of the Russian people under the Czar depicted in a painting by I. E. Ryepin

onciled to the revolution. Communism with its new ideology and its program of rapid change in social relationships and technical methods has been obliged to challenge every organization in the country which fostered traditionalism and sanctioned the established ways of life. Above all, it has been indispensable to the permanent success of communism that the youth of the country be delivered entirely into its hands that they might be cast in the molds prescribed by the teachings of Marx and Lenin. So it was inevitable that the functions of the Church should be diminished and circumscribed; and when in the wake of the declining Orthodox Church a strong non-conformist movement sprang up with its typical program of social and cultural service, this, too, called forth repressive measures. The Communist party makes no attempt to conceal these aspects of its doctrine, but, on the contrary, boasts of them. The true Communist is a

professed atheist required to renounce belief in every religious creed before being taken into full membership. The powerful "League of the Godless" speaks with the voice of the party on all matters of religious policy. While the excitement was at its height during the past month, this organization published a defiant proclamation to the world declaring for the complete extinction of religion in Russia within the space of five years and taking pride in the record of accomplishment in that direction within the past year. According to its own figures, out of 50,000 churches in Russia, 1,370 had been closed during the year 1929 as contrasted with 2,000 closed during the preceding decade. Of the churches closed last year, 1,119 are said to be Christian churches, 126 synagogues, 124 mosques and 1 Kalmyk chapel. Most of the buildings were converted into educational and children's homes; the rest became electric power

stations, factories, hospitals, restaurants and granaries. The church bells were converted into materials for industrial uses, the relics were publicly burned and the precious stones and metals were turned over to the public treasury. In each case the action was taken in response to alleged popular demand; but this demand was incited by every device known to the propagandist: satire and ridicule, public demonstrations of the atheists, mock ceremonies on Sundays and feast days.

There is nothing new in these statements of anti-religious policy. Among the first steps taken by the Bolsheviks in framing the Soviet Constitution was the separation of Church and State and the removal of the educational system from the Church. Moreover, the first Constitution places the entire priesthood among the classes deprived of the franchise. A decree of Jan. 13, 1918, denies to all religious organizations the power of owning property and the rights of a juridical person. In August

of the same year, churches were forbidden to engage in charitable activities, and on June 13, 1921, it was decreed that no religious instruction should be given to any person under 18 years of age. These official policies were rendered more stringent by the religious code of April 8, 1929. The intent of this latest Soviet law is primarily that of breaking up the regional and national unions of the churches so that religion might not become an organized movement and the individual and isolated churches might be controlled by a form of "local option." Earlier denial of juridical and political rights was repeated. The local church is defined as a group of communicants above the age of 18 who voluntarily associated together for purely ceremonial and devotional purposes. Each such congregation must be registered with the local government; no grouping of churches under a common administration is permitted; the ministers, rabbis and priests may not serve more than one congregation;



PEASANTS WORSHIPPING AN IKON

A painting of pre-Revolution days by K. A. Savitzki

church buildings are government property leased to the religious group under detailed contractual limitations. The restriction of church activities to purely religious matters is specified in great detail; the provision of libraries and reading rooms, the holding of social, athletic, educational or recreational entertainments, charitable, medical and financial assistance to the membership are all forbidden under penalties. Special arrangements are made for the closing of the churches whenever their membership falls below a given minimum, or upon demand from the people of the community.

But there is a special reason, quite apart from the drastic religious code of Russia, for the present reaction against the Soviet policy. The past few months have both increased the severity of punishment meted out to religious leaders and given greater publicity to the drive on the churches. Scores of priests have been shot, monks and nuns have been driven from their establishments and forced into exile, and private members of the congregations have been deprived of all their property. These events are not, properly speaking, an aspect of the religious policy, but the result of the five-year economic program, especially in agriculture. As early as Feb. 2, 1921, The Council of People's Commissars published a decree forbidding priests, rabbis, pastors and mullahs from working in any capacity in a collective agricultural unit. This law had little practical effect until the past year, when the program for the socialization of agriculture began to sweep large areas of the country into the collective organization. This movement threatens the total extinction not only of the churches in the village communities but also of the entire priesthood as a class. At the same time, the middle peasantry, the Kulaks, are being virtually exterminated. As a consequence, there has sprung up an alliance between the clergy and the landowners which has drawn the Church into political controversy and led to the execution of many priests on charges of counter-revolution. The Soviet Govern-

ment has probably not attempted to single out the priest for especially severe punishment, but has merely applied its ruthless policy upon both priest and Kulak indiscriminately. The fate of the monasteries, being rural organizations largely, has resulted likewise from the general land policy of the Kremlin. In the cities the five-year program strikes at the churches in a somewhat more indirect manner. The "unbroken work week" has destroyed the Sabbath as a special day of rest and by keeping six-sevenths of the labor force at work on Sunday has greatly affected the ceremonial activities of the churches. In like manner, the substitution of four secular holidays for the entire calendar of church festivals has cut deeply into the popular support of the Church. It is probable that the increased aggression of the atheistic societies, as evidenced by the brutal parodying of religious symbols, is intended to support this economic program.

It is possible, therefore, without doing violence to literal truth to make such statements as those quoted above to the effect that no one is persecuted in Russia for his religious faith. In fact, there is no law and no decree which directly denies religious freedom to the people. Yet more fundamentally the whole trend of policy in Russia makes it impossible for religious organizations to function and to serve the needs of their people without breaking the law. And this is a condition which is bound to grow worse as the tempo of the five-year program is increased and the government applies more rigorous methods to save that program from defeat. During the past month, when indignation throughout the world was most intense, some score of churches were closed and many religious leaders arrested on trivial charges of criticizing the five-year program. It remains to be seen whether by venturing to do violence to the deepest moral sentiments of their own people and of mankind generally the Communists have not raised up against themselves an insuperable barrier of psychological opposition.

II—An Interpretation of the Conflict

By JOHN DEWEY

PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

"RELIGION IS the opium of the people." No phrase is more widely inscribed on the walls of public buildings in Soviet Russia than this. None is more widely associated abroad with the Soviet régime. In Russia the saying is attributed to Lenin. As a matter of fact, Karl Marx was its author, and Lenin took it from Marx, along with so many other of his doctrines. In the same passage in which Marx wrote this sentence he also said: "Destroy the social world of which religion is the spiritual aroma and you destroy religion. * * * Religion is the flower that covers the chains. Destroy the flowers and the chains will be seen." Marx derived his ideas about religion mainly from Feuerbach and the Left Wing of the Hegelian school. He was not an embodied doctrine of pure thought; he was a man of his age, subject to its intellectual currents. It was easy and natural, however, to regard his economic and his theological views as inseparable parts of one and the same system of socialistic thought, although as matter of fact they simply happened to coincide in the thinking of one man.

However, the political and economic status of the Greek Church in the Holy Russia of the Czars gave a peculiar timeliness and force to the union of socialism in economics and atheism in religion. Official and institutional religion was actually one with a despotic economic and political régime. The Czar was the head of the Church, as well as of the State. All the Orthodox churches were supported by the State; and in return the Church, both collectively and through its particular congregations, gave the blessing and sanction of religion to the autocratic State and its rulers. Russia was a theocracy; opposition to the Czar was a religious crime as well as political treason. Nowhere in the modern world, not even in

old Mexico at its height, was the union of institutional religion and the established political and economic régime as close as in Russia. This fact is the background of the Bolshevik attitude toward religion. It gives the key to their violent attacks upon it.

It will be noted that the quotations from Marx express two ideas. One of them is that attack on the existing economic-political order will lead inevitably to the decay of religion. The other idea is that direct attack on religion will expose the "chains" of the existing system, and thereby further the creation of a new system. Soviet Russia has thrown itself energetically into both lines of attack. On one hand, it acts upon the belief that the creation of a communistic society will automatically displace interest in religious doctrines and cults. It will give a new social and human outlet to energy that is now wasted, from the Bolshevik point of view, by misdirection into supernatural and anti-social channels. On the other hand, Lenin felt, and undoubtedly correctly so, in view of his aims, that the existing Church was a rival to the new system which he was inaugurating. It was so closely tied up with the old economic régime as well as with political Czardom that its continued existence was a menace to the realization of his plans. The net outcome of the two lines of thought and action is that communism has itself become a religion that can tolerate no rival, and that any institutional church claiming authority over the social actions of its adherents appears to Communists as an attempt to establish a rival hostile political organization. The religious character of communism and the political-economic character of the Church account for the drastic and unmitigated character of the anti-religious campaign.

When I refer to the religious character of communism I mean that it

commands in its adherents the depth and intensity of emotional fervor that is usually associated with religion at its height. Moreover, it claims intellectually to cover the whole scope of life. There is nothing in thought and life that is not affected by its claims; it has, one might almost say it is, a body of dogmas as fixed and unyielding as that of any church that ever existed. History records many instances of the persecution of one religious faith and its followers by those of another religion when it gained power. What is going on in Soviet Russia is something of the same kind. No one can understand it who thinks of it as a persecution of religion by a strictly political power. To get its real meaning one must align it in thought with the great struggles between rival religions that have marked history.

While the two lines of direct attack upon religion and of indirect attack through building up a social order in which religion will be an anachronism have been utilized by the Bolshevik

régime, they proceed by different methods. Direct attack is carried on by propaganda and education. The rulers of present Russia have never concealed their hostility to religion as such, their fundamental atheism, nor their intent to use all means of education—the schools, the press, poster-pictures—to uproot faith in God and all supernatural power. All kinds of dramatic means are employed to depict the conflict of science and religion as a fundamental one, and to impress the lesson that the victory of religion is identical with the sway of ignorance and stupidity and a consequent social backwardness. There is no doubt that, quite apart from especial political aims, the rulers of Russia today hold the Greek Church responsible for the backwardness of the Russian peasantry, who form, of course, the great mass of the population.

Any one acquainted with Russian history must acknowledge that there is a great deal of historic truth in this view. It is difficult, however, for an American to realize what different political, cultural and economic associations religion has in Russia from those he is familiar with. He will be disposed to inquire why Bolshevik leaders should be so hostile to all personal religious belief, even if they have good ground for opposition to the Church as an organized institution. The general answer is that communism is itself a religious faith. But there are many other specific reasons. The Communists have found, or think they have found, that religious belief is a distinct handicap when it exists among members of the Communist party. It mitigates their zeal in the propagation of the Communist faith; such persons are ruthlessly weeded out of the party. The same motive naturally is applied in dealing with the young, who are the recruits for communism in the future. Personal, non-institutional religion is held to distract thought and energy from the all-absorbing task of the industrialization of Russia.

Lenin's own personality and teachings are an important factor. To



JOHN DEWEY

him the philosophy of dialectic materialism was not a philosophy, but was identical with science itself. Science left no room for religion, and the remaking of the world he took to depend upon the conquest of men's minds by science. Marcu, the biographer of Lenin, says that "nothing in thought or aspiration seemed to Lenin more incomprehensible than tolerance. For him it was indistinguishable from lack of guiding principle. It was the beginning of contemptible surrender." Lenin's followers inherited this spirit of intolerance. Engaged in a life and death struggle to establish a new social order, religion and the creed of dialectical materialism interpreted as scientific truth were implacable and irreconcilable foes. For either to win, the other must be completely defeated.

All observers of the Russian scene agree that the anti-religious campaign of propaganda has met with remarkable success among the young. Maurice Hindus tells of meeting youths in remote parts of Russia who had had no direct contact of any kind with Soviet teachings, who took atheism for granted and who jeered at the very idea of there being a God. Many persons can verify the experience of one Russian who reports that when he was a boy a kind of thrill went through a group of youths when it was suggested that there were those who denied the existence of God, while now the same kind of excitement occurs when it is suggested that perhaps there is a God after all. More significant perhaps is



Times Wide World

LENIN'S TOMB, RED SQUARE, MOSCOW

The shrine for Communists, it is visited by thousands of pilgrims. This view was taken on the anniversary of his death, a national holiday

the statistical result of an inquiry undertaken by officials into the beliefs of school children. They were shocked to find that 50 per cent still believed in the existence of God. This was some two years ago, and led to redoubled efforts to use the schools to root out the belief.

Shocking as is the situation to religious believers in other parts of the world, the methods of teaching and persuasion just outlined do not involve the use of coercive force. Even a believer might regard them as a test of the depth and reality of religious conviction among the people, winnowing the faithful from those of little faith. In spite of the astonishing success of

these methods among the young, there is still a fundamental dispute among those who know them as to the religious nature of the Russian people. There are those, such as Stephen Graham, who paint the Russian people as inherently deeply religious, possessed of a mystic quality of soul. There are others who say that this is a purely literary fiction; that the peasant has been steeped in superstition, and that he has been interested in religion on quite material grounds as a magical means of procuring fertility and other worldly blessings. Where authorities disagree, an outsider cannot judge. All the recent newspaper correspondents agree, however, that the anti-religious campaign in Russia has been going on so long that it is now taken for granted as part of the new order, and that it has not aroused any such revulsion there as has been felt in foreign countries.

The exact extent of religious persecution by coercive means cannot be estimated. It is significant that Ramsay MacDonald, in his public letter, issued in the latter part of February, said that the British Government is not able to state the real facts of the situation. If this is the condition of a government with facilities for ascertaining facts, private individuals are certainly not in a position to judge accurately. A Jewish rabbi in London has declared that at least nine out of ten of the reports of persecution are false. Charles Selden has reported in the columns of *The New York Times* that there is good ground for suspicion that much of the agitation in Great Britain is stirred up by Tories who are trying to embarrass the Labor Government.

Certain things stand out, however, that may reasonably be taken as fact. In the general nationalization of private property in Russia, church properties were not excepted. Technically the title to them is vested in the State. Moreover, State support of priests was withdrawn; they must now derive their support from their own congregations. Many churches were closed; at the same time, any visitor, up to at least

the last few months, can testify that there were still enough churches open to accommodate those who wished to attend them. There was also in the early days a distinct drive against the authorities of the Greek Church; those who were not willing to accept the overthrow of the Czar and the foundation of the Soviet régime were expelled—as were other recalcitrants. The Greek Church was “reformed” under the leadership of priests who were willing at least to tolerate the new political rule. The denial of the Metropolitan Sergius, Chief Patriarch of the Orthodox Church, that persecution on religious grounds exists in the U. S. S. R., was discounted by many zealous religionists in foreign countries on the ground that he was merely a tool of the government. But they overlooked the fact that his existence is proof that the Church and its ceremonies still exist without being hampered when the government has assurance of loyalty. The Metropolitan’s statement that churches are often closed at the express request of members of the community, including church members, is confirmed by independent newspaper observers. That a community oversupplied with church buildings and awakening to new aspirations should be willing to see some church buildings turned into schools and clubs, is not shocking to many of us. It is a question, for example, whether a decision of the Chinese Government to convert some “heathen” temples into schools and public assemblies would not be welcomed by some now engaged in agitation against similar action in Soviet Russia.

The recent decree of Soviet Russia which was the immediate occasion of protests by the Pope and the Primate of the Church of England was a logical continuation of the earlier policy of nationalization of church properties and the rigid divorce of Church and State. Drastic as are its terms, it is in no sense unique. It should not be overlooked that it expressly provides for the existence of religious associations, defining the terms of their activities. The denial to them of juridical

status is in line with similar action taken in other countries after a revolution, France, Mexico and Turkey being examples. In each case, the action has been dictated by fear of the development of an *imperium in imperio*. The prohibition of economic activities is also in line with revolutionary legislation in other countries. The provision that when believers do not appear to sign a contract for the care and maintenance of church edifices the latter revert to public use is doubtless responsible for the closing of many churches. It simply carries out the basic idea of nationalization. The prohibition of sanatoria, charitable relief, libraries, &c., goes further than action in other countries. It is in line with the policy of the U. S. S. R. to give the local Soviets a monopoly of these functions.

I do not doubt the sincerity of the rulers of the U. S. S. R. when they assert that there has been no persecution for strictly religious causes, but only for political. It is, however, extremely difficult to draw the line between the two, especially in a country undergoing a social revolution. There is evidence that the U. S. S. R., after having brought the Orthodox Church to terms, turned its activities toward the so-called Protestant sects. Persecution by government was an old story for them during the days of the Czars, but in the early days of the revolution they made great progress. There is good reason for thinking that the Communists became fearful of their influence over their communicants, since their beliefs were less conventional and more ardent than those of the orthodox. Many of these sects teach non-resistance and brotherly love. From their standpoint, these are religious doc-



International

The Znamensk Monastery, which has been converted by the Soviet Government into a knitting mill

trines. From that of the government they have a political meaning, since the State is committed to the doctrine of class war. The difficulty of drawing the line is found also in the question of religious education. The government permits religious instruction in the faith of the parents at home, but forbids it in institutions and classes before the age of 18.

At the time of writing, there are few verifiable facts regarding the arrest of rabbis in Minsk and other places. But the official statement is that they were arrested for carrying on agitation for schools to teach the Jewish religion to the young. From the government standpoint, this is a form of anti-legal activity directed against the laws of the Soviet régime, and will not be tolerated

any more than would any other mode of illegal action.

I cannot conclude without expressing a personal opinion on one point. All the reports from Russia agree that Communist authorities are unanimous in the opinion that the "religious" drive against the Soviets is but another attempt of capitalistic countries to overthrow the Communist régime. Any one with a knowledge of Russia could have predicted that such would be the result. Although many have protested on genuinely religious grounds, nevertheless they have entered upon a campaign charged with dynamite. So far as it has any religious effect in the U. S. S. R. it will intensify opposition to religion, confirming the belief that the Church has at bottom a political and economic aim. It will also arouse the same feelings that would be aroused

among us by any sign of foreign interference in what we regard as our own internal affairs. The foreign agitation will strengthen the isolationist party in Russia; it will intensify its militaristic activity. It will be used as further evidence that foreign nations are getting ready to overthrow the Communist régime by any means in their power. The Russian Government has drawn a distinct line between strictly religious activities of the Church and its social organization and purposes. This distinction is a logical consequence of the entire Soviet system; and attacks on the Soviet Government for its opposition to the social activities of the churches will only increase its conviction that personal religion is only a cover for political, educational and economic actions that tend to defeat the society they are trying to establish.

III—A Roman Catholic Indictment*

By EDMUND A. WALSH

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY; HOLY SEE REPRESENTATIVE IN RUSSIA, 1922-23

THE OFFICIAL pronouncements of the Soviet Government itself render superfluous any laborious demonstration of their intent to extirpate all religion in Russia as a constituent element of the five-year program.

Fifty per cent of the Catholic clergy of Russia have disappeared, since the revolution, through judicial murder, starvation, exile or imprisonment. The martyrology is a long and glorious one. Constantine Budkiewicz was shot to death on the night of Good Friday, 1923. Archbishop John Cieplak was condemned to die at the same time, but was saved owing to the protests of the entire civilized world. Joseph Bielogolov, 46 years of age, a brilliant professor of the Ecclesiastical Academy at Petrograd, was early singled out by the Bolshevik authorities—and rightly so—as a priest of true episcopal timber. Urged to accept "consecration"

at their hands as Bishop of an anti-Catholic sect which would enjoy their subsidized favor in order to labor at the undermining of faith in general, he calmly spurned the insidious offer and paid for his loyalty to conscience with his life. He was shot in 1928. Dominick Ivanov, about the same age, former vicar of St. Catherine's, Petrograd, banished to the unspeakable horror of Solovetsky Island in the White Sea, succumbed in the freezing darkness of that island prison during the same year. It was from this new Siberia that eighteen prisoners, worn to skeletons, escaped, as if by a miracle, a few months ago and reached the shores of Finland.

There still remain on Solovetsky Island, undergoing the agony of slow execution, the following Catholic clergymen: Mgr. Boleslav Sloskan, Apostolic Administrator of Mohiev and of Minsk, who was arrested in August, 1927, and after the worst form of

*Summarized from statement in New York Times, Feb. 23.

physical and moral torture deported to the island and sentenced to hard labor; Paul Chomiez, 36 years of age; Vincent Dejnais, 49 years of age; Adolphe Filip, 44 years of age; Vincent Ilgin, 43 years of age; Joseph Iuzwik, 56 years of age; Casimir Siwicki, 45 years of age; Miecislav Szawdinin, 34 years of age; John Troigo, 49 years of age; John Versocki, 41 years of age; the two theologians, Tysowski and Woronko. All belong to the Mohiev diocese. The list continues: Nicholas Alexandrov, Potapi Emilanov and that intrepid hero, Leonid Feodorov, Exarch of Russian Catholics of the Oriental Rite.

The last name which we have is that of Father Chtchepaniouk, a priest of the Oriental Rite, from Kiev. The names of those undergoing a similar agony for conscience' sake in distant points, such as Siberia, Turkestan and the Caucasus, are known only to God. But among them stands out the venerable Apostolic Administrator of Kiev, Mgr. Theophile Shalski, 52 years of age, and Father John Deubner, the former imprisoned for three and one-half years, the latter for more than eight years. Canon Antone Wassilevsky sealed his faith with his life during the first week of October, 1929, dying in South Caucasus, in absolute isolation, a veritable Confessor of the Faith.

By direct means the attack is now extended to embrace the Russian people as a whole. The Soviet Government next created and financed the "Association of the Godless," a militant atheistic league. Two hundred and fifty thousand skilled propagandists, operating under the direction of the Ministry of Public Instruction, supported by the bayonets of the Red Army and the omnipresent O. G. P. U., patronized by



International

RAZING THE SEMINOVA MONASTERY

Soldiers dismantling a monastery in Moscow which was torn down to make way for a new Soviet "house of culture"

local soviets and the trade unions, are now feverishly engaged in corrupting the soul of the nation, particularly of its children. During recent years 20,000,000 copies of the paper *The Godless*, with its unspeakable blasphemies, have been deluged into every home and kindergarten, and 2,000,000 copies of virulent anti-religious publications of a miscellaneous character have been circulated. Ten thousand anti-religious clubs, protected and shielded by the police, are functioning and spreading hooliganism throughout the land; special and abominable films are displayed in thousands of sacred places now confiscated and turned into clubs, museums or theatres. Nine universities have been consecrated exclusively to

the war on God, and every teacher in every city, town and hamlet is obliged to cooperate in this hideous campaign under pain of party penalty.

At Christmastide, 1928, 700 anti-religious demonstrations were organized in Petrograd alone, and Lunacharsky, Soviet Minister of Education, sent out over the State-controlled radio station a thundering broadcast against the

existence of God. The same program was repeated last Christmas, and an elaborate mockery is being repeated for the coming Easter.

It is against this profanation of the sanctities of life and against these apostles of universal chaos, whose ideal seems to be a world in flames, that the Sovereign Pontiff raises his voice in protest and bows his head in prayer.

IV—The Soviet Point of View

By HAROLD KELLOCK

AMERICAN ADVISER OF THE SOVIET UNION INFORMATION BUREAU IN WASHINGTON, OF WHICH B. E. SKVIRSKY IS DIRECTOR

THE DISABILITIES faced by the Russian Orthodox Church and by organized religion generally in the Soviet Union since the revolution are neither unusual nor abnormal in any historical sense. In France there was a similar phenomenon following the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy, and in certain of the American States, notably in Maryland and Virginia, the established Anglican Church was pretty well broken up even before the British armies threw up the sponge. Out of forty-five Anglican clergymen in Maryland, thirty-nine fled from their parishes.

In Czarist Russia the Orthodox Church was a political arm of the government. It not only kept silent about the cruelties and repressions of the old régime, but it furnished spies and *agents provocateurs* to assist in stamping out any movement toward liberation. Its officers stimulated anti-Semitic feeling to serve the occasional savage pogroms, promoted by the secular arm to divert the people from their wretched lot. The general practices of the Orthodox Church in the villages were only remotely connected with any civilized conception of religion. Mr. Maurice Hindus, author of *Humanity Uprooted*, tells of asking peasants in a large gathering, before the revolution, what they thought about the Sermon on the

Mount. None had ever heard of it. Some months ago Mr. Walter Duranty, writing in *The New York Times*, told of the religious-minded peasant who had his first ride in an airplane. Whisked above the clouds, the peasant was amazed to find no trace of God or the angels, nothing but vacant space, and his simple mind immediately concluded that religion was a hoax. These two stories throw light on the peculiar crudity of the only religion the peasant knew. I have been in a Northern Russian village where the priest and the sorcerer, the latter a survival from pagan times, practiced virtually the same hocus-pocus for curing the sick and for assuring a good crop. During recent years the first school and the first medical clinic have been established in the village, much to the discomfiture of "religion." The thousands of American tractors that have come to the villages during the past year have also doubtless had a tremendous effect in changing the peasant's attitude toward such village priests who by magical rites would drive evil spirits from the fields for a fee, for the tractor has proved a surer magic. It is this situation that has led to the transformation of numbers of village churches into civic centres. It has also led many of the priests who lived by magic to join the local kulaks (rich

peasants) in burning the grain of the tractorized collective farm or in "beating up" or even shooting the manager of the collective. A priest as well as a layman is subject to the laws against arson or murder.

This village situation is the only marked change in the religious situation during the past year. Beyond doubt it has not improved the situation of the church, or of religion.

It was stated in *The New York Times* on Feb. 16, in an article transmitted by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, that the fundamental laws regulating religious bodies were completely changed by a decree of April 8, 1929. In fact, the legal position of the churches has been virtually unchanged since it was established in the decree of January, 1918. Under this law public religious teaching to children was forbidden and clergymen were deprived of the vote. Church lands and structures were nationalized (as was real property generally) and turned over to the congregations for use. Under this decree also, for the first time in Russian history, the Church was separated from the State, and the right to adhere to any religion or to none was guaranteed to

all citizens. Private religious instruction in the home was specifically permitted. The only important change made in the decree of April, 1929, was a provision restricting religious organizations to purely religious work.

The severe restrictions faced by organized religion in the Soviet Union are implicit in the historical background. The Communist party as such is frankly hostile to organized religion. The Soviet Government, on the other hand, has dealt with the church question with marked conservatism, especially if one considers the decided anti-religious reaction that inevitably resulted from the spectacle of the Czar's church in its final years.

The facts of the situation as reported currently by reputable American visitors to the Soviet Union, including high-grade journalistic investigators, are completely at variance with the wild mendacities cabled from Riga and other points, the weird inventions printed in certain British Tory papers which a few months ago were displaying yarns about Wall Street being blocked with the corpses of brokers who had committed suicide, and the unfortunate exaggerations of a few



Photo by May Mott-Smith

The little mosque between the two arches, where the Czar used to worship, was recently demolished as obstructing traffic

eminent divines to whom the Soviet Union is a phobia rather than a country.

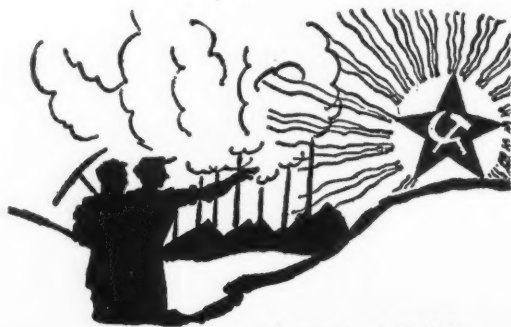
Churches are holding services without interference. A number, a very small percentage, have been closed or transformed to civic uses by the local authorities, but in practically no cases except where the churches were no longer being used for religious purposes. Religious persons are not being herded to jail and clergymen are not being executed for religious activities.* The grotesque assertion that only Soviet citizens who profess atheism may obtain bread, so ridiculous on its face, is without any basis in fact.

When Warsaw, through the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, reports that fourteen rabbis, including Chief Rabbi Gluskin, are about to be executed in Minsk, that is a front-page sensation. When it develops that no rabbis have been executed, or are in danger of execution, and that Rabbi Gluskin has issued a statement asking his colleagues in other countries not to support the crusade against the Soviet Union, unfortunately that is less sensational. When the Simonovsky Monastery in Moscow, hundreds of years old and unused for any purpose for over ten years, is torn down, one reads numer-

ous denunciations of this heresy, all of which wholly neglect the fact that for several years the residents of that crowded section had been petitioning the City Government to be permitted to replace the uninhabitable structure with a badly needed civic centre. When the Metropolitan Sergius, head of the Russian Orthodox Church, and members of his Holy Synod, in an interview with foreign correspondents, emphatically repudiate foreign stories of outrages against practitioners of religion, the foreign critics serenely reply that not Sergius but some Czarist émigré abroad is really the head of the church in the Soviet Union. One day The Associated Press cables from Moscow that of 50,000 churches in the Soviet Union, the Society of Atheists claims that 3,460 have been closed during the past twelve years. A few days later the New York office of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency announces that 70,000 churches have been closed, a record of 140 per cent. In short, the reports, especially those of the extra territorial variety, are both confusing and unreliable.

The late war proved that there is nothing more contagious than hatred, that it can feed on its own inventions and sweep masses of people into a frenzy of blood lust. It appears to me that some of the eminent persons who are waging this campaign against the Soviet Union, and enlisting in it the forces of religious emotionalism, are playing with a very heady and dangerous mixture. As Mr. MacDonald suggests, they should look to their facts.

*In the case of a certain foreign creed, most of its clergymen in Russia have been nationals of a neighboring country which once invaded Soviet territory and for some years thereafter caused further alarms. During the invasion and thereafter some of these alien clergymen were convicted of espionage and related hostile acts. Certain of their apologists here invariably represent them as martyrs to their faith.



Paul von Hindenburg

By A. B. FAUST

PROFESSOR OF GERMAN, CORNELL UNIVERSITY

THE COMBINATION of soldier and statesman is rare. Few men in all history have achieved it. One at least there is, to whom his grateful countrymen have given this twofold stamp of approval. He is Paul von Hindenburg, second President of the German Republic, the fifth anniversary of whose election by popular vote occurs in April of this year.

Only five years ago grave fears were expressed throughout the world at the announcement of Hindenburg's election to the vacant Presidency. A leading American newspaper echoed the prevailing sentiment: "He is a militarist, an imperialist, an unbending monarchist, and the foe of democracy. He still considers himself a subject of the former Kaiser." But after initial nervousness, when the franc and German bonds dropped considerably, Wall Street recovered its equilibrium and official Washington placidly awaited developments.

In Paris, however, moderation could hardly have been expected. "Let no one deceive himself," declared the *Temps*, "the election of Field Marshal von Hindenburg is a defiance of the Allies, of Europe and America." The entire French press at once assumed as inevitable the defeat of the British policy of conciliation and forecast the abandonment of negotiations for a Western pact.

The English press was more hopeful. "The fear of reaction is unfounded," said the *Manchester Guardian*. "The election is a triumph of personality. The hero of Tannenberg made a greater appeal to the nation than the program of Dr. Marx."

The situation in Germany could not have been more accurately described. Many friends of the republic did not vote the Republican ticket because they

preferred to see Hindenburg the head of the nation. They knew they could trust implicitly his promise to uphold the Weimar Constitution. The vote for the two leading candidates was close: Hindenburg (Nationalist party), 14,655,000 votes; Marx (Republican party), 13,752,000, and Thaelmann (Communist party), 1,932,000. On a plurality (not a majority) of about 900,000 votes Hindenburg was elected successor to Fritz Ebert.

Fears in Germany were soon dispelled. Every one knew how reluctantly the old Field Marshal had come out of his second well-earned retirement, how he disliked a political career, how he had been brought to yield solely by his inbred sense of duty toward his people and fatherland. Every German felt called on to cooperate after Hindenburg's first published statement: "The battle is over and I am ready to grasp the hand of every German, my previous opponents included, and work with them all for the good of the country." His actions harmonized with his Easter message given before the election:

My life is an open book before all the world. I believe I did my duty during Germany's "bitterest" period. If this duty calls me to act on constitutional grounds, without regard to party, person, origin, or calling, as President I shall not be found wanting. As a soldier I had the entire nation in mind, not a party. Parties are necessary in a State ruled by a parliament, but your highest executive must stand above parties and independent of them, and rule for every German alike.

Hindenburg, when he came into office, made no drastic changes in government appointments. In the office of Secretary of State—chief adviser to the President, a position of great influence and responsibility—he kept Dr. Otto Meissner, who had served under Presi-



Cartoon by Maribona

PRESIDENT PAUL VON HINDENBURG

dent Ebert for five years and belonged to the Social-Democratic party. Remonstrances from his own party or suggestions for removals received no response when a position had been served with efficiency and experience.

During the five years Reichspräsident Hindenburg has been in office he has been behind every movement of constructive statesmanship. He has held the plumb-line in building and reconstruction operations and has made the builders follow the architects' plans (i. e., the Weimar Constitution). He has kept the laborers from striking by subduing party dissensions. Contrary to certain expectations abroad, the Hohenzollerns were not invited to come back, and the negotiations for European peace went on without interruption. Five months after his inauguration, in October, 1925, the Locarno pledges, immortalizing the names of Stresemann and Briand, were signed, although by supporting them Hindenburg resisted intense opposition from the party that brought him into power.

In September of the following year came the entry of Germany into the League of Nations, again in spite of opposition from the Nationalist party. Hindenburg clearly saw the advantage for his country, an end of ostracism and the regaining of a seat and a voice in the councils of the great nations.

Still another positive achievement during Hindenburg's administration was the testing of the Dawes plan, and its subsequent revision into the Young plan, now finally drawn up. The opposition to this found a strong leader in Alfred Hugenberg, powerful through his hold on capital and the industries, his purchase of influential newspapers and the movies.

Once Hindenburg almost overstepped his prerogative when he came out flat-footed against the so-called "Liberty law," a reactionary attack on the Weimar Constitution and on all friends of peaceful negotiation. Hindenburg's forceful words: "I consider the measure a personal and irrelevant political attack which I both deplore and condemn," had a decisive effect which destroyed the forces of reaction in a popular referendum on Dec. 22, 1929.

Hindenburg, although not an orator, has the gift of putting so much in one sentence that quotations from his utterances have the weight of "noted sayings." He has said:

"I will not take orders from any party, and no one need think I will."

"Let us hope the German people will learn the lesson of unity, for in union there is strength."

(Addressing a body of young Germans): "I have been called by age and office to live and work with an older generation, but I hope and believe with you young German people, who are the future and the strength of the German nation."

His native sense of humor may flash in a brief reply, such as:

Interviewer: "What do you do, sir, when you get nervous?"

Hindenburg: "I whistle."

Interviewer: "But I never heard you whistle."

Hindenburg: "Neither did I."

The German Constitution does not make a figure-head of its President,

nor does it, on the other hand yield to him the power of the President of the United States. The Cabinet or governing Ministers, not chosen by him, are responsible to the Reichstag, giving the legislative a control over the executive power. The President has no veto, but he may dissolve the Reichstag, though only once on the same question. He is elected, not, as the President of France, by the National Legislature but by the people, who also vote their decision in case of his impeachment by the Reichstag. In the working out of the Weimar Constitution it has been found that the many-party system throws unexpected power and responsibility upon the President, as mediator between contesting groups or as holder of the balance of power. This was seen in Hindenburg's solution of the flag controversy, or in his appointment of Wilhelm Groener to succeed Minister of Defense Gessler.

The Reichsrat, composed of representatives sent by the various States and provinces, also stands above parties, but it is concerned largely with the interests of local constituencies, i. e., the various States. The power that stands solely for the national welfare is the Reichspräsident, and this fact Hindenburg has emphasized during his administration as no one else could have done.

It was fortunate for the German people and for the republic that Hindenburg was elected instead of Marx, for the personality of Hindenburg reconciled a large part of the nationalist elements to the new order of things. "If the Constitution is good enough for Hindenburg, it is good enough for me," said a monarchist, a patriot of the old school, who belonged to a class once the backbone of the nation; a class, though deeply conservative, still capable and ready to make the greatest sacrifices for the country, the class from which Hindenburg himself is sprung.

He was born Oct. 2, 1847, in Posen, then the capital of the Prussian province of Posen. On his father's side he inherited the virtues and traditions of

the old Prussian nobility, on his mother's the intellectual vitality of the professional middle class. Robert, Hindenburg's father, was a sixth son among eleven children, and having no expectations of inheriting the manor, entered the military service in accordance with family tradition. He married Louise Schwickart, the daughter of a staff physician and of a family of surgeons.

The parental home was God-fearing, loyal to King and fatherland, and devoted to the military profession. In the Prussian cadet corps there prevailed a spirit of rigid discipline and devotion to duty, and when the war against Austria broke out in 1866 the dashing young Lieutenant said: "It is high time the Hindenburgs smelt powder again."



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VON HINDENBURG IN 1914



Unveiling of the famous statue of Hindenburg in Berlin in 1915

At the battle of Königgrätz an Austrian bullet pierced his helmet and grazed his scalp, but he recovered and joined in the charge on the last five of the enemy's guns. Four years later, in the war against France, he distinguished himself in the battle of St. Privat, preventing by his alertness a flanking movement of the enemy. He was adjutant of the commander of his regiment at Sedan and Paris, and was given the honor of representing his regiment at the memorable proclamation of the German Empire at Versailles.

After his return from active service in these two wars his real training in military science and tactics began at the Kriegsakademie, 1873-76. He won his entry into the Great General Staff in 1878 and came under the influence of Moltke and Waldersee. "Work un-

seen, be more than you seem (ungesehen schaffen, mehr sein als scheinen)," was the Moltke motto through many years of hard work. At Stettin in 1879 Hauptmann v. Hindenburg married Gertrud Wilhelmine von Sperling, whose father had been chief of staff under General Steinmetz. By his marriage Hindenburg had three children, two daughters (both married) and a son, Oskar, born in 1883, who is his adjutant in the Presidential home.

While stationed at Königsberg in 1881 Hindenburg laid the foundations for his knowledge of East Prussian defenses against Russian invasion. Two years later in Berlin he worked under Graf von Schlieffen, successor to Moltke, who taught the doctrines of flank and rear attack and the annihilation of the enemies' forces, all of which Hindenburg was destined later to put into practice with distinguished success. Alternating his work in the general staff in Berlin with ac-

tive service in the army, his last station was that of Commanding General of the Fourth Army Corps at Magdeburg, 1903-11. At the age of 64 he retired, "because he considered it his duty for the benefit of the service to open the way for younger men."

The war came. More quickly than had been foreseen, two vast, well-equipped Russian armies were advancing over the East Prussian border. Contrary to the orders of the High Command, the German defensive forces retreated before the advancing hosts. A change of leadership was decided upon at once, and Hindenburg was placed at the head with Ludendorff as his chief-of-staff.

Arriving in the vicinity of Tannenberg on Aug. 24, they quickly united upon the plan of defeating each army separately before they effected a junction. The Njemen army under General

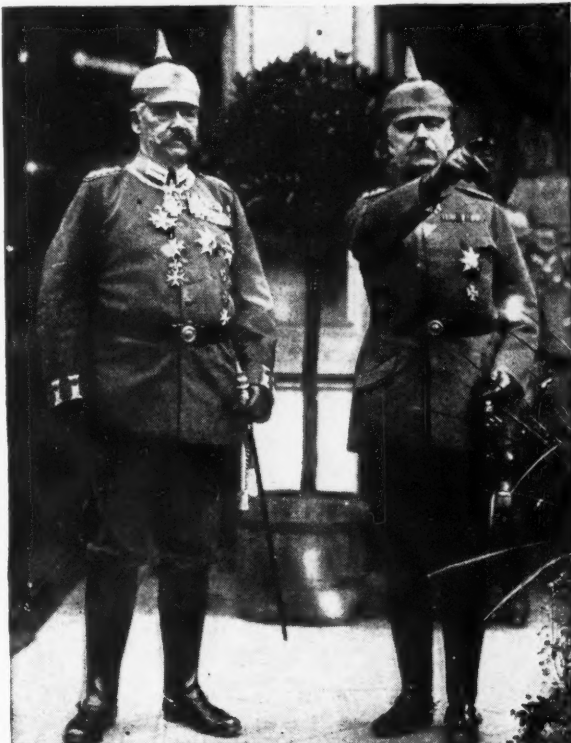
Rennenkampf was advancing in a direct line toward Königsberg. The Narew army under General Samsonow on the southern border of East Prussia was advancing rapidly northwestward. Each of them alone far outnumbered Hindenburg's forces, and it was necessary for him not only to defeat but to destroy one army before meeting the other. Leaving a thin line in defense of Königsberg, he took a desperate chance of uniting all his forces against Samsonow coming from the south. Two successful flanking movements to the right and left joined in the enemy's rear. If the German front would hold, the Russians could be encircled; and the German front, although bent back deeply by the pressure of the advancing Russians, held. And Rennenkampf, fortunately, did not start immediately to the aid of the encircled Samsonow.

By Aug. 31, one week after Hindenburg's arrival on the field, the great battle called Tannenberg was won. The greater part of the Narew army was destroyed, 92,000 prisoners were taken. Rennenkampf's rapid retreat prevented the success of the encircling movement there, but his losses in the Masurian Lakes battles were very severe.

These smashing victories enshrined Hindenburg forever in the hearts of the German people; the great danger of Russian invasion seemed removed and victory clung to his banners. But in 1916, when he and his chief of staff were called to take charge of the High Command, the military outlook was critical indeed. Verdun had not been taken in spite of enormous sacrifices, the battles of the Somme had been raging for two months with German lines often bent to the breaking point, and the Russian offensive in the Carpathians had encouraged the Rumanians to declare war on the Central Powers.

Yet in the combination of Hindenburg and Ludendorff there followed a unity and brilliancy of action that filled the world with astonishment. The crashing campaign that put Rumania "out of combat," the recovery against the Russian invasion, the campaign in Italy, the defense against the allied offensive in France in 1917 and finally the last brilliant attempts to break the English and French lines in 1918 are as a whole not surpassed in military history. The presence on the western front of 2,000,000 fresh American soldiers decided the war against the Central Powers.

Political differences between Ludendorff and Hindenburg came later. Hindenburg was the man who looked forward, thereby uniting the past with the future of the German nation. Ludendorff harked back to the old traditions and with them was scrapped.



Brown Bros.

Field Marshals von Hindenburg and Ludendorff in the early days of the war

When the débâcle of Germany's allies and conditions at home rendered continued resistance hopeless, Hindenburg and his staff advised negotiations for peace on the basis of Wilson's Fourteen Points. Both Hindenburg and Ludendorff offered their resignations to the Emperor. Ludendorff's was accepted and General Groener (now Minister of Defense) appointed in his place. Meanwhile the Revolution spread all over Germany, the suddenness and completeness of the change showing that public opinion was ready to accept it. In Berlin Max von Baden, the last Chancellor appointed by the Crown, waited in vain for the abdication of Emperor William, and was forced to announce it before it was actually received when he understood by telephone that it was promised. The German Republic was proclaimed by Scheidemann in front of the Reichstag building, Nov. 9, 1918.

In the meantime the Emperor had sought counsel of the General Staff at Spa. He was presented with the alternative of seeking death at the front or flight across the border. When he desired to face the revolutionists at the head of his faithful regiments, he was informed by the General Staff (Hindenburg concurring), that even the most loyal regiments could not be counted on to turn against their own countrymen, although they would follow against the enemy. The Emperor's decision to expatriate himself released the army from its oath to the Crown and gave to Prussian officers of such strong traditions of loyalty as Field Marshal Hindenburg freedom to choose for themselves. Chivalrously the Field Marshal, claiming full responsibility for the acts of the High Command, offered subsequently to stand trial in place of William II in the court for war criminals set down in the Treaty of Versailles, but then, in November, 1918, impelled by his deep sense of duty, Hindenburg offered his services

to the new German Republic. Loyalty to his country and people overcame the old loyalty to his Emperor, and he remained at his post as head of the army.

Holding the defeated army together along the Western lines and then bringing 2,000,000 soldiers home from all the scattered fronts was one of the greatest achievements of Hindenburg's long military career. Not laurels but a crown of thorns usually awaited the returning officers, but the Field Marshal upheld their dignity at home. Early in 1919 he removed to Kolberg and with volunteers defended the frontier against Slavic incursions.

In May of the same year, he retired once more to Hanover. But the call of the nation, this time to the Presidency, again broke in upon his leisure. At the age of 78 he once more assumed the heavy responsibility of guiding the fortunes of his people through stormy seas.

Those privileged to have come into the imposing presence of the German President know that those severe and stern features may light up with the smile of human kindness, that the countenance chiseled out of granite may fade into the likeness of a fatherly friend. Whoever the visitor, high or low, the Hindenburg tranquillity prevails, and each is put at his ease and his best. Simplicity is the impressive feature. An appreciative or eulogistic utterance in Hindenburg's presence may relax to the likeness of a fatherly him the stern reply: "I am simply doing my duty."

His duty is as natural to him as to the forces of nature obeying natural law. Defying time—*zeitlos*—the majestic figure of Hindenburg holds securely in his grasp what has been saved from the wreck—German national unity, the heritage of Bismarck. With a nation newborn Hindenburg, at 83, looks courageously into the future.

The Downward Trend of Employment

By ERNEST J. EBERLING

PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

PROBABLY NEVER before in the history of the world has there been such a per capita increase in the output of industry as has occurred in the United States during the last decade. This increase has been accompanied by so many significant changes that it might aptly be termed the new industrial revolution.

Careful study shows that from 1899 to 1914 the output per employe had gone up slightly less than one-half of 1 per cent per year. In 1919 the physical output per worker was actually 3 per cent less than in 1914. Beginning with 1921, however, it is the consensus of opinion among students that the productivity of labor has increased about 50 per cent, or an average annual increase in output per worker of 7 per cent. This has been due primarily to scientific management and the great increase in the use of machinery, and has been the cause of our great prosperity in recent years.

In spite of our much-vaunted prosperity, however, we find many economic maladjustments which mar our national welfare. Of these the problem of unemployment in industry is the most serious.

A survey of the many studies and estimates now available reveals clearly the downward secular trend of employment. The report of President Hoover's committee on recent economic changes estimates that the increase in our working population between 1920 and 1927 was 11,500,000, which makes our total working population at the end of 1929 about 14,000,000, or an annual increase of about 1,500,000. At the same time there is a definite tendency toward a decline in the number of workers employed.

Wesley C. Mitchell stated in the *Survey Graphic* for June, 1929, that "the

supply of new jobs has not been equal to the number of new workers plus the old workers displaced. Hence, there has been a net increase of unemployment between 1920 and 1927 which exceeds 500,000 people."

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that 1,874,500 workers were laid off the payrolls of manufacturing industries and railroads between 1925 and 1928. Mr. Stewart, commissioner of the bureau, stated that "our figures show a drop from the base line of 1923 to November, 1928, of 12.3 per cent in employment in manufacturing industries."

The Statistical Abstract of 1929 shows that the average number of wage earners in 1919 was 9,030,000; in 1923 the number was 8,770,000; in 1925 the figure was 8,380,000, while in 1927 it was 8,340,000.

The recent Hoover report indicates that since 1920 there have been on an average 2,300,000 unemployed persons in this country, which irregular employment would easily bring up to 3,000,000.

Other recent studies show that the situation has not improved in the last three years. The Labor Bureau, Inc., early in 1928 placed the amount of unemployment in 1927 at 4,000,000 persons. On the other hand, the Brookmire Economic Service estimated that there were 1,466,000 unemployed in 1927, while for March, 1928, it placed the figure at 2,632,000. Babson's employment index as published in the weekly letter of Jan. 27, 1930, shows a steady downward trend during the past six years which is due fundamentally, according to that organization, to the replacement of the worker by the machine.

The American Federation of Labor officials have been very much worried

over the situation for the past three years. In February, 1928, they reported that the average unemployment in twenty-three leading industrial cities of the United States was over one-sixth of the total number of workers represented by their unions, and that "unemployment among the unorganized workers is probably much higher."

A recent statement on unemployment was made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on Feb. 19, to the effect that in the eight major industrial groups employment for January, 1930, decreased 2.6 per cent as compared with December, 1929. A decrease at this period has taken place in five out of six years when estimates have been made, the decrease usually ranging from 0.3 to 1.6 per cent. The manufacturing industries have shown the least decrease in the past months, January's employment being only 1.8 per cent less than December's.

It is undoubtedly true that much of the increase in unemployment is due to the technological changes in industry. Much has been said for the past year or two about the alarming increase in unemployment because of the substitution of machines for men. There is no question but that machines are every day displacing men and women who have spent years in developing skill and ability necessary to their crafts.

As a result of the recent investigation of the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate into the causes of unemployment, evidence was put before the committee to show that "7 men now do the work which formerly required 60 to perform in casting pig iron; 2 men now do the work which formerly required 128 to perform in loading pig iron; 1 man replaces 42 in operating open-hearth furnaces. A brick-making machine in Chicago makes 40,000 bricks per hour. It formerly took one man eight hours to make 450. The most up-to-date bottle-making machine makes in one hour what 41 workers used to make by hand in the manufacture of four-ounce prescription bottles."

Mr. Stewart recently described the operation of a new device by which the Mergenthaler type-setting machines can be run by electricity from a central station, any number of them operated by one person and any distance apart. He also called attention to the fact that the harvester-combine machine had thrown the problem of unemployment on "hundreds of thousands of men who worked in the wheat harvest."

Thousands of skilled musicians with a life's training behind them are being thrown out of employment by the advent of the talking movie. The Simplex and Multiplex machines have eliminated the need for trained telegraphers.

Bookkeeping machines, counting machines, ingenious copying and typing machines have forced many office employees to accept either unemployment or employment at a much lower wage running one of the new machines. For example, skilled bookkeeping in banks, which formerly was paid from \$150 to \$200 per month, is now done by machine operators earning from \$100 to \$125 monthly. Office work is being measured by cyclometers and square inches of typed matter. Twenty simultaneous check signatures are made with one. Opportunity is being steadily undermined in the clerical occupations.

It is said that these persons displaced by machines have gone into other lines of work, such as the manufacture and distribution of rayon, radios, oil products, motor accessories and other new products. An investigation recently made by the Institute of Economics shows, however, that displaced workers have great difficulty in finding employment. Almost one-half of the workers who were known to have been discharged by certain firms during the year preceding were still without jobs when interviewed by investigators from that institute. Of those still unemployed over 8 per cent had been out of work for a year and about one-half had been idle for more than three months. More than one-half of those who had found jobs had been in enforced idleness for more than three months before finding work.

The investigation showed that the new jobs paid lower wages in most instances. It was also found that trained clothing cutters, for example, with years of experience, had become gasoline station attendants, watchmen in warehouses and clerks in meat markets. Machinists were selling hosiery for mail-order houses. A significant number of men after months of enforced idleness admitted frankly that they had taken to bootlegging.

Nor has agriculture absorbed this unemployment as it formerly did. A recent study of the farm problem in the United States shows that the farmers with about the same acreage and personnel as before the war are able to produce 30 per cent more wheat, 4 per cent more corn, 4 per cent more cotton, 70 per cent more pork and lard and 14 per cent more beef and veal. Estimates of the Bureau of the Census show that the total farm population was about 30 per cent of the total population in 1920 and that it had declined to 25 per cent in 1925. The Hoover committee reports a decline of 3,000,000 in farm population since 1920.

In transportation the same situation exists. It has been conservatively estimated that there were 150,000 fewer railroad employes in 1928 than in 1923. The Statistical Abstract for 1929 shows that over 80,000 employes were laid off by Class I carriers between Dec. 31, 1927, and Dec. 31, 1928. Most of these employes have been displaced by automatic electro-pneumatic systems of car control and other mechanisms.

Although this unemployment is costly to employers and to society in general, its chief burden falls on labor. The reduction or loss of family incomes, the piling up of debts, the loss of physical possessions and the frequent impairment of health and self-respect are well known. Many problems of considerable social significance—*theft and other forms of dishonesty, immorality, vagrancy, disease and maladjustment*—are now attributed to unemployment.

It should be emphasized that unemployment is not due solely to the displacement of men by machines. It is

to be attributed in part to the cyclical swings of business and to the seasonal character of many industries.

The problem of unemployment is not a new one. It has been with us in more or less acute form ever since the beginning of the present century. An investigation of the extent of unemployment in the urban centres of the United States from 1902 to 1917 estimated that the minimum number of unemployed through this period was 1,000,000.

The Russell Sage Foundation is authority for the statement that the extent of unemployment in the United States in any one year runs from a minimum of 1,000,000 to a maximum of 6,000,000, depending upon the prevailing industrial conditions.

The point is, what has been done about it? We know to a considerable extent what ought to be done, but so far little has been accomplished.

Between 1910 and 1916 seven important studies were made in the United States into the causes of unemployment. In 1920 President Wilson called the Second Industrial Conference into being to study the problem. In 1921 President Harding appointed Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, to act as chairman of a conference on unemployment. This conference resulted in the appointment of a committee by Mr. Hoover, headed by Owen D. Young, to make an exhaustive investigation of the possibilities of lessening unemployment by controlling the business cycle.

As a result of the unemployment crisis of 1927 and 1928 the Senate passed a resolution on May 3, 1928, asking the Committee on Education and Labor to undertake an investigation into the problem. Its findings are now available in Senate Report 2072, Seventieth Congress, second session.

Unemployment is not a disease that can be attacked with a single remedy. Dr. Lubin, in summarizing the evidence put before the recent Senate committee investigating unemployment, said: "Without exception, it was the opinion of all who testified

before your committee that unemployment is primarily a problem of industrial organization and not one of individual character. No impartial observer of industry would today attribute the existence of any but a relatively small share of unemployment to the workers themselves."

Practically all the important investigations and studies of unemployment agree on certain major proposals for relieving unemployment. These may be classified under two heads—private and public.

There are many ways by which unemployment can be reduced by private enterprise. The scientific management of industry and the more intelligent planning of the productive process represent the best methods of approach. This would include the development of personnel departments and vocational education. Morris Leeds, speaking before the Senate committee, said: "I was convinced a good many years ago of the element of unfairness and social wrong that modern industry had gotten into by freely hiring people and with equal freedom, firing them." Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, said to the committee: "It seems to me that those who manage our large industries, whatever be the character of their output, should recognize the importance and necessity of planning their work so as to furnish as steady employment as possible to those in their service. Not only should that course be followed because it is an obligation connected with our economic system but because it would tend to develop a satisfied and contented body of workmen which, of itself, would improve efficiency and reduce costs."

A concerted attack by American industry upon the problem of seasonal employment would, in the opinion of one large employer of labor, result in the elimination of at least one-half of the unemployment which continually prevails in the United States. But testimony given before the Senate committee shows that only a few organizations in this country have thus far had the vision and courage to undertake the

task. Enough has already been done, however, to prove that to a large extent industry can regularize itself in such a way as largely to eliminate unemployment caused by seasonal trends and irregular production.

The Senate committee, in summarizing its investigation, said that "the employer, undoubtedly, has the greatest duty and the greatest responsibility in solving this problem of unemployment."

So far as the function of the State is concerned in dealing with this problem, we find at least four pertinent proposals.

The first of these is the necessity for having adequate statistics of employment and unemployment. It is certainly obvious that all plans for alleviating unemployment must depend on accurate information as to its extent and character. We have absolutely no figures as to the number of persons unemployed at any definite time. The estimates of the Labor Bureau, Inc., Brookmire Economic Service and other organizations quoted in this article are at best only scientific guesses and can be criticized, although they undoubtedly indicate the general trend. The unemployment conference of 1921, after deploring the fact that there were absolutely no scientific data on the subject, made its "best guess" as to the amount of unemployment at that time. Just a year ago one dispute after another arose in Congress over the number of men out of work. Even President Hoover's recent statement as to the upward trend of employment during the month of January has already been rather effectively criticized by Miss Frances Perkins, New York State Industrial Commissioner.

The Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics makes the most comprehensive collection of data concerning the status of employment in the United States, but its figures do not refer to unemployment. For instance, with 200,000 immigrants a year, with about 200,000 people coming into our cities from the farms, and with anywhere from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 young people reaching

the working age, a marked growth of employment may be accompanied by a serious increase in unemployment. The figures of the bureau have also been criticized because they do not include sufficient primary data concerning trade, agricultural, mining, personal and domestic services and clerical workers. Finally, these figures are questioned because they are based on the assumption that 1925 was a year of no unemployment.

However, it should be noted here that as a result of the Wagner resolution and increases in appropriations the bureau has materially increased its collection of data, which today carries much more significance than formerly. But a census of the unemployed is essential.

It is gratifying to note in this connection that the census of 1930 will give data showing the number of persons unemployed. This is a very important step, and it is the first time in our history that such a count will have been made. With the continued expansion of the work of the bureau and the completion of the 1930 census of unemployment we should have within a few years exceedingly accurate data on unemployment in American industry, which will be of incalculable value.

In the second place, the advance planning of public works has long been accepted as the one instrument which governments can use in alleviating such unemployment as results from general business depression. The recent Senate investigation shows that the Federal Government may set a valuable example to the States in the adoption of a practical scheme for the planning of public works. The "Jones prosperity reserve bill," introduced in the Senate, is a step in this direction.

In the third place the formation of a national system of employment agencies should be undertaken at once. The government now appropriates \$200,000 for the work of the United States Employment Service. It functions as a Federal organization solely in the matter of placing farm labor and cooperates to some extent with State or city employ-

ment agencies. An industrial service organized on a national scale, which could furnish competent, timely knowledge of the industrial situation, both local and national, and also provide contacts between the unemployed and jobs, would be of inestimable value.

Here again we note that orderly marketing, which is common enough in the case of commodities, has not yet been applied to the distribution of labor. Recurring surpluses and shortages characterize our labor market just as they do our commodity markets.

The function of a national system of labor exchanges would be then, twofold—first, to serve as information centres, where complete data on unemployment and the industrial situation could be secured; second, to act as placement bureaus using the information they have acquired in bringing workers and jobs together.

The establishment of such a program has been for two decades included in every comprehensive program for alleviating unemployment. For instance, the conclusion of the committee appointed by Mr. Hoover in 1921 was that "the greatest promise seems to be in the developing and raising to a high standard of efficiency of a national system of employment bureaus."

Curiously enough we had during the World War the beginnings of a splendid system of national employment agencies. More than 800 offices were functioning and a splendid record was made. Unfortunately, however, it was regarded strictly as a war measure and much of its work was abandoned as the result of niggardly appropriations by Congress after the war.

The fourth and final remedy suggested for unemployment is some form of unemployment insurance. Many authorities believe that during the period of search for new jobs and during the period of training, the worker should be in part provided for.

The report of the Senate committee shows that some fifteen private industrial concerns have their own insurance funds and make provision for paying their workers during periods of unem-

ployment. In most cases evidence was given by these concerns to the effect that unemployment insurance had led to a heightened morale among the workers insured and had brought about lower production costs. In fact, H. S. Dennison, testifying to the Senate committee, said that the establishment of the unemployment insurance fund by his company was "the best single move we have ever made in all our labor-management policies."

A movement by labor associations toward a five-day week, which already is in vogue in several skilled categories, and proposals to reduce the number of hours per day, are significant of the serious consideration the problem is receiving from the workers themselves.

Fifteen bills dealing with unemploy-

ment insurance have been introduced in six State Legislatures since 1915 and none of them has been successful.

State-wide unemployment insurance has been established in Great Britain and several other countries and seems to have worked quite successfully. It can be written on an actuarial basis and can be so organized as to be neither a pension nor a dole. However, it was the opinion of the Senate committee that "government interference in the establishment and direction of unemployment insurance is not necessary and not advisable at this time." At the same time the committee strongly endorsed the adoption of unemployment insurance systems by private employers and recommended that whatever legislation is considered on this subject should be considered by the States.



International Publishers

Cardinal Gasparri

By WALTER LITTLEFIELD.

OFFICER OF THE CROWN OF ITALY

ACCEPTANCE OF THE resignation of Pietro Cardinal Gasparri as Papal Secretary of State was preceded by a period of exaggerated rumors about the Cardinal's health and conflicts with his successor, Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, and the Pope. The truth is simple: Several months before the signing of the Lateran Treaty the resignation had been placed in the hands of Pius XI on terms mutually agreed upon, and, in the last month of the year, Mgr. Pacelli was created a Cardinal for the purpose of succession.

Early in the new year a compromise was effected and on Jan. 13 the *Osservatore Romano* announced that Cardinal Pacelli would act as *locum tenens* at the Palazzo Apostolico during the convalescence of the Secretary of State. By Feb. 10, both resignation and succession came into effect. Cardinal Pacelli comes from a distinguished family of the Neri, long in the service of the Holy See. He has served as Nuncio at Munich and Berlin.

The retiring Secretary of State is nearly 78 years of age—the only prelate to hold that office for any length of time under two Pontiffs since the days of Cardinal Hildebrand, the only Foreign Minister to continue in office after the World War.

Although all the records of the Palazzo Apostolico are not yet available, sufficient has transpired to designate Cardinal Gasparri as the most progressive churchman, the most enterprising diplomat, the most sagacious statesman to preside at the Secretaria Status in modern times. Where Antonelli was intriguing, he was candid; where Rampolla sectional, he was universal; where the recently deceased Merry del Val reactionary, he was radical. It is doubtful whether the reconstructive policies of Benedict XV and Pius XI would have found such com-

plete expression, whether the prestige of the Church would have found such universal acceptance without him.

In a review of his accomplishments, however, in the light of what appeared to be the mundane status of the Holy See in the Autumn of 1914 and what it appears to be today, it must not be forgotten that his rôle in the Roman Catholic cosmos was not ecclesiastically so important as its foreign contacts would seem to indicate. The Secretaria Status is fourth among five executive departments, which are preceded by twelve Congregations, or legislative-executive chambers, which draft nearly all the utterances of the Pope, and the courts of trial, appeal and revision, all composing the Curia or administrative government.

The Curia has so evolved in modern times that after the Pope the two most powerful personages in the government are the Secretary of the Consistorial Congregation, or Minister of the Interior, and the Prefect of the Congregation of Extraordinary Affairs, who as Secretary of State performs the duties of Foreign Minister, usually combining with them those of Finance Minister, as Cardinal Camerlingo. Thus as an actual Papal Premier Pietro Cardinal Gasparri served for fifteen years, five months, as against Antonelli's service of twenty-eight years under Pius IX, and Rampolla's seventeen years under Leo XIII.

The Gasparri family has been identified for centuries with the goatherd-proprietors of the Umbrian Hills. Their estates extend through Ussita, and at Visco, diocese of Norcia, on May 5, 1852, Pietro was born. The Ussitanese owe much to the Cardinal. He built their town hall, in which is a framed case containing the insignia of the orders he has received from various governments. He was fond of spending



Underwood

CARDINAL GASPARRI

his Summers there riding horseback among the hills.

At the age of 12 Pietro entered the little seminary in the ancient episcopal see of Nepi, and at 18 went to the Seminario Romae. When he was licensed a priest in 1873 he became secretary to the famous jurist Cardinal Mertel, from whom he probably acquired his love of law—canon law—which for four years he taught at the College of the Propaganda at Rome. In 1879 the visiting faculty from the Institut Catholique of Paris called him to the chair of Canon Law. He held the chair for nearly twenty years, and during the last four years of his occupancy his letters to Leo XIII and Cardinal Rampolla measurably shaped the conciliatory policy of the Holy See during the anti-clerical storm in France. Leo XIII made him a member of the Commission on Anglican Orders, and in 1898 appointed him Apostolic Delegate to Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, where he spent the next three years.

Just before leaving Paris he was ordained Bishop by his Eminence Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris. On his return to Rome in 1901 he came into very close contact with Cardinal Rampolla through an appointment to the Secretariat of Extraordinary Affairs.

Meanwhile he had written several Latin brochures which were approved of by the higher authorities: *De Matrimonio*, dealing with marriage in the light of canon law; *De Ordine* and *De Eucharistia*. In the first year of the Pontificate of Pius X he became identified with a work which is perhaps the only one of permanency which Cardinal Merry del Val initiated—the codification of the canon law, a collection of 2,414 statutes with proper editing in a single volume of 600 pages, *Codex Iuris Canonici*, the first copy of which was presented to Benedict XV on June 28, 1917, and later accepted by the Italian Government in the Lateran Treaty. A medal struck in commemoration of the presentation reveals the figure of Cardinal Gasparri in a conspicuous place—in fact, he had done most of the work. Meanwhile, on Dec. 16, 1907, he had been created Cardinal by Pius X, and by his successor appointed Secretary of State Oct. 10, 1914.

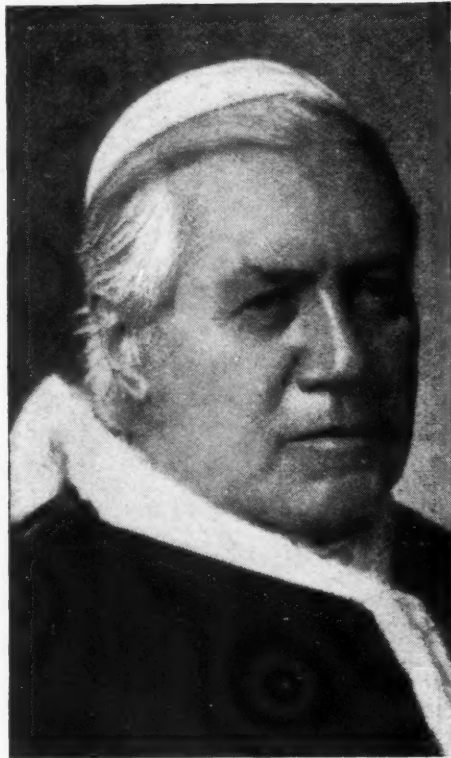
Pius X had learned too late that his eleven years' dominance by Cardinal Merry del Val, although disciplining the Church ecclesiastically, had impregnated both Curia and many of the College of Cardinals with distinct Ultramontane, not to say Germanophile, politics. He died Aug. 20, and Domenico Cardinal Ferrata, who, too late called in council, had been appointed to succeed Merry del Val on Sept. 6, died on the 10th of the succeeding October. Both strove until the end to undo the material harm done and both fell victims of sudden unexpected mortal illness.

This situation, although greatly modified by the efforts of Benedict XV and Cardinal Gasparri, is responsible for the insertion of Article XV in the Pact

of London of the following April, to the effect that the Holy See should have no part in the peace commitments. On Aug. 28, 1915, Cardinal Gasparri made a deliberate speech to reassure Italy, but the von Gerlach scandal which followed rendered it almost abortive. On the other hand, the Pope's declaration of a strictly neutral policy with constant peace efforts was not what the central chancelleries had conspired for.

This policy, executed and expanded with all sorts of pacific admonitions, it was the duty of the Cardinal Secretary to impress upon the Corps Diplomatique which gathered three times a week at the Palazzo Apostolico. There in the early days of the war J. van den Heunel of Belgium alone faced Prince von Schönburg-Hartenstein of Austria, Dr. von Muhlenberg of Prussia, and Baron von Ritter von Grunstein of Bavaria. Then England hastened to revive diplomatic relations, and as the war drew in one nation after another the cause of the Allies was strengthened by the support of envoys from the South American republics. Came Cardinal Mercier, Primate of Belgium, and Cardinal von Hartmann, Archbishop of Cologne—the first with details of the invasion of Belgium, the second with aggressive messages from the German Kaiser. The first received heartfelt and proclaimed sympathy; the second sound advice. Later, to equalize the balance of influence supposed to be exerted by the Corps Diplomatique on the Holy See, Cardinal Gasparri accepted the credentials of Baron de Fontarce as representing Monaco, although he was a Frenchman who reported direct to the Quai d'Orsay.

The famous peace note of Aug. 1, 1917, was drafted in part by Pope Benedict, in part by Cardinal Gasparri, and in part by Don Achille Ratti, now Pius XI. Its inspiration was evidently due to the formula for peace brought Cardinal Gasparri in June by the Catholic Reichstag leader, Matthias Erzberger, which also contained a plan for the restoration of the Papal temporal power at the expense of Italy. In this plan was the stipulation that the temporality



POPE PIUS X

should have international guarantees—a condition put forward by the Cardinal in writing to Francesco Pacelli, on Oct. 24, 1926, at the beginning of the Lateran negotiations, but later abandoned.

Immediately on the signing of the armistice the Cardinal communicated with the chief signatories urging them to liberate prisoners of war as soon as possible. Meanwhile, the number of nations having representation at the Palazzo Apostolico had increased from sixteen to twenty-eight. This fact, although the Holy See was not allowed to be represented at the Peace Conference, gave its agents there, directed by Cardinal Gasparri, a certain influence in the moral, if not material, adjustments. Failing to have the conference accept a peace without victory with the preservation of the Dual Monarchy and the exclusion of Russian Orthodoxy from Southeastern Europe, the Vatican finally succeeded in retain-

ing a strong position in the cession States and a predominating influence in Poland, thanks to the efforts of Mgr. Ratti, who, created Cardinal in 1921, was to be the successful rival of Gasparri at the next Conclave. From the time of the Peace Conference until the sudden death of Pope Benedict XV on Jan. 22, 1922, aside from constructive measures of organic expansion and reform in diplomatic procedure, Cardinal Gasparri gradually developed a policy which was ultimately to convince both France and Italy of the correctness of the war attitude of the Vatican and thereby lead to a resumption of diplomatic relations with the Quai d'Orsay and the settlement of the Roman Question—the two outstanding achievements of his Secretariat.

At the Conclave, which convened on Feb. 2, 1922, the Papabile Cardinal was Gasparri, supported by a group who believed in the perpetuation of the internal progressive and external conciliatory policy of the late Pontiff. Opposed to this was a still

more influential group of intransigents led by Cardinal Merry del Val, who is said to have been responsible for a circular attacking the administration of the Secretary of State which was distributed to the Cardinals on the evening of the 5th. Thereupon Cardinal Gasparri decided the contest by throwing his support to his friend Cardinal Ratti, both of them being disciples of the late Rampolla, both bound by personal achievements to the program interrupted by the death of Benedict XV, and associated with that Pontiff in much that stood in his name. On the fourteenth ballot, cast at 11 A. M. on Feb. 16, Cardinal Ratti, Archbishop of Milan, was elected by the almost unanimous vote of fifty-three Cardinals, and immediately signified his intention to retain Cardinal Gasparri at the Palazzo Apostolico.

The separation law of 1905, forced on France in self-defense by a series of inept manoeuvres on the part of Cardinal Merry del Val, prevented the republic from being directly represented



POPE PIUS XI

In an audience with visiting Bishops

Times Wide World



The Vatican Palace, as seen from the square of St. Peters

at the Vatican during the war and gradually developed in France an anti-republican, pro-loyalist hierarchy which, in the circumstances, it was impossible for the Pope to discipline. Since the prelate members were no longer officials of the government, as they had been under the ruptured Concordat of 1802, the French authorities also found it difficult to do so. Both France and the Vatican desired an agreement of some sort with the renewal of diplomatic relations.

In July, 1918, Gasparri, through Léon Adolphe Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris, arranged with President Poincaré to send a Catholic savant, M. Denys Cochin, to formulate, if possible, a protocol with Pope Benedict. The Frenchman took home the same message which Francesco Pacelli was, eight years later, to convey to Mussolini: "The initiative must come from the civil government." In the following year Cardinal Gasparri ordered the French Bishops to open negotiations with the French Government, but the conversations came to nothing as the former were dominated by the Action Française. Meanwhile Alsace and

Lorraine were restored to France. In them, of course, the Concordat of 1802 was still in force, offering a new field for the propaganda of the Action Française. Cardinal Dubois had succeeded Cardinal Amette as Archbishop of Paris, and through him and his successor, Cardinal Verdier, the Papal Secretary of State was able to achieve a policy which brought about a resumption of diplomatic relations in 1921, defeated the adverse political manoeuvres of the Socialist Premier Herriot in 1924, secured favorable French legislation for Church organization in 1928, caused the Action Française to be placed on the Index with the excommunication of its supporters, and finally called forth a Papal encyclical to the French Bishops admonishing them to be loyal to the republic.

To pave the way to a successful settlement of the Roman Question three obstacles had to be removed before even a protocol could be thought of: the anti-Papal propaganda of Freemasonry, the anti-Gasparri propaganda of a certain section of Fascismo inspired by the still prevailing legend of the Cardinal's anti-Italian attitude in

the war, and an equally persistent legend that the Holy See, through Don Sturzo's Partito Popolare, or Catholic party, sought political predominance in the Peninsula. Mussolini removed Freemasonry and disciplined *Il Tevere*, the chief organ of anti-Gasparri propaganda. The Pope forced Don Sturzo into retirement and left Fascismo to deal with his party.

The situation being thus clarified, negotiations were opened on Aug. 6, 1926. It would take a volume to show the rôle played by the Papal Secretary in their progress. But two little-known episodes, however, may be recorded here.

At Paris, in May, 1919, a certain French Abbé, who was merely said to have credentials from the Apostolic Palace, entered into a series of conversations with Marchese Brambilla, an attaché of the Washington Embassy, and son-in-law of George von Lengerke Meyer, former American Ambassador at Rome, and ex-Secretary of the Navy. The result of these conversations was laid before Signor Orlando, the Italian Premier then at the Peace Conference, and Cardinal Gasparri. The latter immediately dispatched to Paris, Mgr. Cerretti, who had a long interview with Premier Orlando at the Ritz on June 1. There the Monsignor presented the Premier with a formula for settlement signed by Gasparri, which was almost identical with that finally agreed upon except that international guarantees were required by the Holy See. It is interesting to contemplate what would have been the future of Italy if the Orlando Government had not fallen on June 20 and the Gasparri formula had prevailed as Orlando had assured Cerretti of his intention to make it prevail.

Cardinal Gasparri's declaration to the diplomats on Feb. 7, announcing the news of a settlement, ended with these words:

His Holiness is persuaded that the governments who chose to be represented at the Vatican when the Pontiff occupied the palace of which he had only the mere use, will more willingly wish to be so represented when he will be a sovereign, free, and independent in his small State.

If one word better than another describes Gasparri's career as Secretary of State it is "thorough." Few, indeed, are the serious questions he has left his comparatively young successor to deal with—only the development of a policy toward Soviet Russia, the resumption of the Oecumenical Council adjourned in the Autumn of 1870, which Gasparri discouraged until both France and Italy should return to the Catholic fold, and the settlement of the Maltese question, which he was manoeuvring into a treaty with Great Britain, as the second international covenant to be negotiated by the Stato del Vaticano.

The honors bestowed on Cardinal Gasparri, including knighthood in the Ordine supremo della SS. Annunziata, the highest gift at the disposition of King Victor Emmanuel III, will measurably increase the insignia on exhibition at the Ussita town hall. He appears to be less interested in them than he is in codifying the Oriental Canon Law in the little villa the Pope bought for him on the Oppian Hill. His achievements as Churchman, Italian and Statesman form a curious contrast to his simplicity of speech and dress. As Boccaccio once wrote of the poet Dante: both honors and clothes sit comfortably upon him. He has abundance of humor, but never displays it at the expense of another.

American Intervention in Russia

In 1918

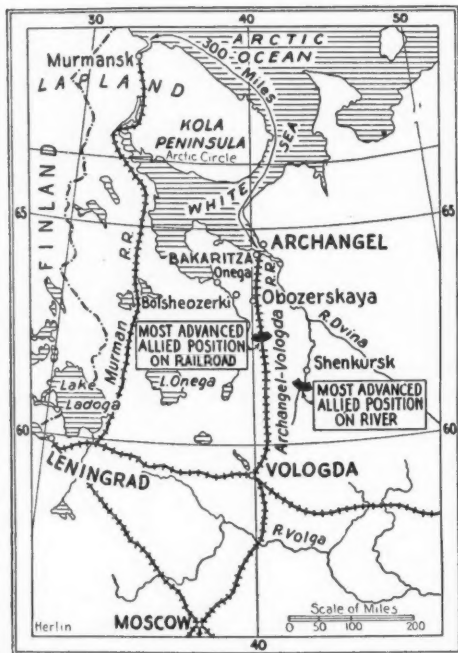
The whole story of American intervention in Russia in 1918 has not yet been told. Recently the bodies of seventy-five American soldiers who died in that expedition were brought home. Why did the United States Government, in July, 1918, order 4,800 troops into North Russia, under British command, and 9,000 into Siberia, to fight against a people and in a country with which we were not at war and to continue fighting six months after the armistice had been signed? *CURRENT HISTORY* has assembled three articles on this subject. The first explains the position of the United States Government; the competence, qualifications and trustworthiness of the author are vouched for by the Editor of *CURRENT HISTORY*. Ernest Reed's contribution is a historical narrative of the Archangel expedition, and Gordon W. Smith has given a record of personal experiences during the campaigns. The last two writers were in the Expeditionary Force.

I—The American Government's Policy

VIEWED IN THE cold gray light of post-war history American military intervention in Siberia and North Russia in 1918 has seemed to some an error in statesmanship. Isolated from its political context this diplomatic incident can be and has been interpreted as mischievous and sinister, a wanton interference with the political evolution of the Russian people. Actually, nothing could be further from the truth. The intervention was undertaken reluctantly, under the impulsion of diplomatic pressure from other countries and the stress of events. The reasons which justified it at the time were later discovered to be not entirely apt in the light of later developments, the information on which it was based was partly inaccurate; and its military contribution to victory over the Central Powers was insignificant. Nevertheless, the political purposes of that intervention were fully attained, and if Russia is now a political unit it is largely because of the policy of the United States embodied in that intervention.

To understand this incident fully, it

is necessary to recapture the atmosphere of the historical action. It is very easy to criticize Jellicoe's tactics at Jutland and Von Kluck's flank march at the Marne, in the light of fuller knowledge. It is entirely different when it is necessary to issue orders in the "fog of battle," in ignorance of what the enemy is doing and why. The "fog of battle" obscured allied diplomacy in Russia in 1918. There was an almost complete breakdown of political intelligence from that country after the Bolshevik coup d'état of October, 1917. Such information as was received by the American and other governments was generally fragmentary, often inaccurate and always delayed. The primary considerations which qualified the Russian picture—considerations easy to forget twelve years after the event—were that Russia was in chaos, without any recognizable central authority or political cohesion, that the climax of the greatest war in history was upon us and that any action which might impede the enemy must be carefully considered, that the enemy was intervening in Russia and had converted the



Map of the campaigns in Northern Russia, 1918-19

Ukraine into a base of supplies and was moving through the Baltic provinces toward Archangel, and that there was alarm lest the German and Austrian prisoners should be equipped with arms, as the Czechoslovak prisoners had been, and should seize control of the Russian railways and acquire the huge stocks of munitions at Vladivostok and Archangel.

There was no Russian Government which could speak for the entire country with authority. The Provisional Kerensky Government, which the United States had recognized, was in flight or in exile. The Ukraine had split off from Russia proper and had signed a separate peace with Germany. Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Finland had become independent under German auspices. Georgia and the Caucasus were in revolt. In Siberia the Czechoslovaks, General Semenov, and to a certain extent Horvat, were in control of various regions. The different parts of Russia were fighting each other and the Soviet authorities at Moscow con-

trolled only a small portion of the country and seemed likely to collapse at any moment. There was no reason to prophesy for Lenin and Trotsky a longer lease of political life than had been granted to Alexander Kerensky.

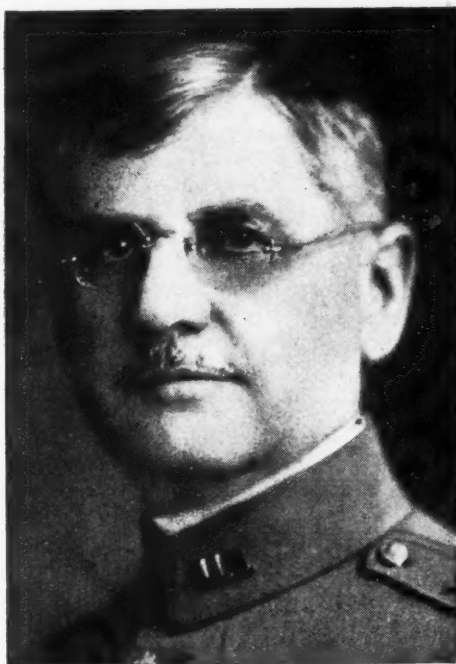
The Germans had already intervened in Russia. On Feb. 9, 1918, the German Government had signed a separate peace with the Ukraine. On March 2, they signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. On the previous day they had advanced on Kiev; less than a fortnight later they had occupied Odessa on the Black Sea. By the third week of April they were in control of the Ukraine and on May 9 they seized Sevastopol and the greater part of the Russian Black Sea fleet. On May 5 a spokesman for the German Government informed the Reichstag that the German forces had entered the Ukraine at the direct wish of the Ukraine Government to restore order and also to get food as quickly as possible. As early as February, 1918, neutral Sweden had intervened in Russia to the extent of seizing the Aaland Islands. In April the Germans intervened in Finland, which was then—so far as the Allies were concerned—still a part of Russia, overthrowing the Bolsheviks, and the troops under General von der Goltz were not withdrawn until late in October, 1918.

These far-reaching German interventions removed the primary legal obligation of the Allies to keep their hands off Russia. The principal question now involved was whether intervention would promote allied victory over the Germans and whether failure to intervene would expose the Allies to fresh military hazards. While reports that the Germans planned to ship submarines in parts to Vladivostok and to assemble them there for operations in the Pacific were probably baseless, there was a serious danger lest the Germans turn Archangel and Murmansk into submarine bases, and there were serious fears lest the Germans take advantage of Russian demoralization to make themselves masters of the country. This would not only end the economic encirclement of

Germany; it would give the Germans possession of the stores of munitions at Vladivostok and Archangel, it would cut off the army of 50,000 Czechs who were fighting their way eastward to Vladivostok, and would enable the Austro-German prisoners to seize the Transsiberian Railway. On the other hand, allied intervention promised, if not to reconstitute the eastern front, to detain a certain number of German troops which could otherwise be used to support the terrible German offensive in France. It was during the height of this offensive that the decision was taken. While as a military scheme it was chimerical to suppose that intervention could be a major embarrassment to the German armies, its military motivation may not be ignored. German intervention had already made Russia a battleground; the Allies proposed to accept battle on this ground and there was a general idea that the full force of Japan could be poured into the war over the Transsiberian without more difficulty than the Americans had experienced in bringing the A. E. F. to the western front.

The first phase of intervention was the steady pressure of our associates in the war against Germany to persuade us to assent to intervention. This pressure we resisted more strongly than could have been imagined. For over six months we stood between Russia and military intervention and yielded only in the face of convincing, if erroneous, statements by responsible officials and competent observers that intervention would be welcomed by the Russians. In January, 1918, the first proposal for intervention was made in the form of a request to allow Japan a free hand in Siberia. In February we twice rejected the proposal. In the middle of February the Supreme War Council recommended Japanese intervention. On March 5, 1918, three days after the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, we again rejected intervention as being of most questionable wisdom and took the occasion to affirm our sympathy in the Russian Revolution in spite of all the

unhappiness and misfortune which had for the time being sprung from it. Less than two weeks later we again rejected arguments in behalf of intervention. Subsequently, Japanese intervention was proposed once more, and on April 5, 1918, Japanese naval forces were landed at Vladivostok. In May the American Government reaffirmed its policy of non-interference in the affairs of other nations. In June fresh proposals were made that Japan undertake military intervention in Siberia, and early in July the Supreme War Council at Versailles decided that, for military motives, Murmansk and Archangel must be seized as bridgeheads and Siberia occupied up to the Urals. This policy contemplated the reconstruction of the Russian front, the prevention of the recall of German divisions from Russia, the protection of war supplies at Archangel, and the rescue of the Czechoslovaks who were isolated in Siberia.



MAJOR GEN. WILLIAM S. GRAVES

Commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in Siberia in 1918 and 1919

The result was a White House conference in Washington on July 6, 1918, at which it was decided that it was impossible to re-establish the eastern front or to advance west of Irkutsk in Siberia, but that the United States might participate in a joint American-Japanese intervention at Vladivostok to protect supplies and to enable the Czechoslovaks at that port to come to the assistance of their compatriots who were reported cut off in Western Siberia and thus to enable the Czechs to extricate themselves from Russia. On July 17 the Allies were notified of this decision, declining to take part in or to sanction a military intervention in Russia, yielding to the decision of the Supreme Council in the matter of landing forces to protect supplies at Murmansk, and at Vladivostok to enable the Czechoslovaks to proceed westward. The American Government regarded military action in Russia as admissible only for those purposes. On Aug. 5, 1918, the decision was communicated to the press. A few days previous British forces under General Poole had landed at Archangel. We resisted subsequent efforts to extend the Siberian intervention westward, advocated the retirement of the Czechoslovaks eastward and endeavored to keep the Vladivostok forces at a minimum. Our own contingent consisted of 9,000 men, and we tried to persuade Japan to send an equivalent force. The latter, however, retained a free hand and sent a total of 72,400 troops, a number which was later reduced. The Siberian expeditions soon became entangled with the conflicting political claims of Semenov, Horvat and Kolchak. In the final analysis, both Americans and Japanese withdrew their forces, and Russian authority over the territory was fully re-established with American diplomatic support.

The Archangel expedition had a more definite mission. It was to protect supplies and the Murman railroad. Unfortunately, such supplies as had not been withdrawn into the interior before the British landing were removed in the interval between that landing and the

arrival of the 4,800 American troops a month later. The anticipated attacks on the Murman railroad did not materialize, and such fighting as occurred was due to Bolshevik resistance to General Poole's efforts to interfere in North Russian politics and to occupy the railway. Friction arose between the American and British commanders on these and other issues of policy. By decision of the Supreme War Council the high command at Archangel had been given to the British, as to the Japanese in Siberia. Ambassador Francis, who was then at Archangel, had decided to interpret his instructions freely, to send our troops as far south as Vologda, and to subordinate them to General Poole's commands. On Sept. 6 suspected British complicity in a coup d'état at Archangel caused a revulsion of feeling. We informed the British Government that we would have to consider withdrawing our troops from Poole's command. When it was proposed to send five more American battalions, we gave notice that no more American troops were to be sent to Northern Russian ports, and General Poole was subsequently relieved of his command. In reply to the suggestion that we were waging war on the Soviets we announced that we had never recognized the Bolshevik authorities and that we did not consider that our efforts to safeguard supplies at Archangel or to help the Czechs in Siberia had created a state of war with the Bolsheviks.

The armistice did not materially alter the situation. We were still legally at war with Germany and to the purposes of the original intervention had been added the situation which our withdrawal might occasion. Our representative at Archangel, who had opposed the original act of intervention, recommended the retention of United States forces there as assuring a square deal to the Russians. The same applied in equal measure in Siberia. To divest the two interventions of their joint character would be to substitute British and Japanese national policy for inter-allied policy. That this decision was

wise was indicated by the dispatch of fresh British forces to Archangel in December and the announcement that the British Government intended to continue at Archangel, Murmansk and Siberia, to hold the Baku-Batum railway in the Caucasus, to aid Denikin with money, munitions and advice, and to send a naval squadron to Revel in the Baltic to assist local anti-Bolshevist operations, while the French took the lead in the Ukraine and the British in the Caucasus. While these extensive anti-Bolshevist operations were being prepared by our associates we resisted a proposal to accord recognition to the Baltic States on the ground that our friendship and loyalty to Russia and the Russian people caused us to feel in

honor bound to avoid precipitate action. We firmly dissociated ourselves from the post-war interventionist movement, and, as shown by our subsequent attitude on the Bessarabian question, we made recognition of the territories stripped from Russia by the war contingent upon prior Russian acceptance of their altered political status. Such encounters as occurred between our military forces in Russia and the Bolshevik troops were simply incidental to the policy which the Supreme War Council had adopted.

On the other hand, it had to be recognized that this government did not have the motive for energetic intervention that our associates did. Great Britain had lent huge sums to the Russian Government during the war, the repudiation of which by the Bolsheviks was a terrible financial blow. Anglo-Russian relations had never been friendly, and the threat to India was



General Poole, British Commander, and General Torcow of Armenia at Archangel on Oct. 12, 1918

still uppermost in the minds of Delhi. Also, the spectre of German-Russian union made a mockery of the British blockade and threatened disaster to England in post-war economic competition. Siberia was on Japan's doorstep and abutted on her interests in Manchuria. Japan could not afford to be indifferent to events in a region which had once brought her into a costly war and which threatened her strong position in China. France had not only invested great sums of money in Russia, but Russia had been her ally for nearly thirty years and Russian military defection was paid for by a fresh invasion of France. Only Italy, which had no special interest in Russia, supported the American policy of non-intervention and after the war declined to take part in the allied operations in the Caucasus. Where England, France and Japan were ruled by practical considerations, we alone could afford a policy

of self-conscious morality toward Russia.

While it is difficult to see what other course this government could have followed, it is easy to realize that we were in no sense a catspaw for other powers. We were under no illusions as to the effectiveness of military intervention and resolutely limited ourselves to simple and natural objectives. We had full warning of the effect of intervention on the Russian people, and, while we sought to discount the moral risk involved, we took the risk with our eyes open. Its principal consequence was to stimulate a Russian nationalism which supported the particular political system which successfully resisted the allied interventions of 1919.

The episode is a perfect illustration of the fact that statesmanship generally involves a choice between two evils. We can see today the cost of intervention, although our own share was subordinate and limited strictly to objectives which involved no interference with the domestic affairs of the Russian people. It is easy for us to discriminate our motives. The mere fact of our landings at Vladivostok and Archangel enables those interested in so doing to tar us with the interventionist brush. The steady refusal of American diplomacy to countenance anti-Russian territorial or political arrangements in the period from the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk to the Washington conference has not prevented those who wish so to regard us to cite intervention as proof of our "enmity" to Soviet Russia.

On the other hand, if we had not intervened, the cost might have been still greater, not only to us but to Russia. If the Japan of the Twenty-one Demands had received the free hand in Siberia which the Allies wanted to give her, who can doubt that the consequence might have been a bloody conflict between Japan and Russia, exhausting and sterile in its effects on the two nations? Had the British intervened single-handed in North Russia as spaciouly as they did in the Caucasus, would it have helped either Great Britain or Russia in their sufficiently stormy post-war period of readjustment? If we had let Russia go to Germany by default, could we have won the war in 1918? If we had washed our hands and let the Allies intervene alone, would we not also be accused of deserting Russia to her enemies in the hour of need? Such considerations as these were doubtless in the minds of the American officials who bowed to allied pressure and took the fateful decision on July 6, 1918, to dispatch small American contingents to Vladivostok and North Russia. The decision may have been unjustified in its military aspects; in its political aspect it was the natural, the inevitable and the justifiable thing to do. If Russia is today neither a Prussian province nor a set of foreign spheres of influence nor an utterly ruined country, it is largely because, when faced with a choice of two evils, American statesmanship selected one to the ultimate advantage of Russia, if to the immediate disadvantage of the United States.

II—The Story of the A. E. F. in North Russia

By ERNEST REED

SERGEANT MAJOR, THIRD BATTALION, 339TH INFANTRY, NORTHERN RUSSIA EXPEDITIONARY FORCES

THE BRINGING back to America of the bodies of our soldiers who died in Northern Russia in 1918 and 1919 recalls that long campaign on the edge of the Arctic Circle and raises anew the question of its purpose and significance.

"As the Government of the United States sees the present circumstances," it was stated in an official bulletin of the United States Government, issued by the "Creel Service" and dated Aug. 5, 1918, "military action is admissible in Russia now only to render such pro-

tection and help as is possible to the Czechoslovaks against the armed Austrian and German prisoners who are attacking them, and to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance. Whether from Vladivostok or from Murmansk and Archangel, the only present object for which American troops will be employed will be to guard military stores which may subsequently be needed by Russian forces and to render such aid as may be acceptable to the Russians in the organization of their self-defense."

Nevertheless, we are left to our own conjectures as to the purpose of this expedition, for its performances were not in keeping with the declared objective. As weeks and months passed, the men asked their officers the why of it all, and the officers in turn asked the commander, and he was unable to say.

The A. E. F. of North Russia consisted of the 339th Infantry, the 337th Ambulance Company, the 337th Hospital Company and one battalion of the 310th Engineers, about 5,500 men in all. They were part of the Eighty-fifth Division trained at Camp Custer, Michigan. While en route to France they were detached from the division and assembled in England. From here they were sent to Archangel on three British troopships, the Somali, the Nagoya and the Lydeus. On Sept. 5, 1918, they debarked at the Bakaritzia and Smolny docks. Colonel George E. Stewart, 339th Infantry, was in command of these forces and upon arrival in Russia reported to Brig. Gen. F. C. Poole, the British officer who had been placed in command of the Northern Allied Expedition, and who, having been in Petrograd in command of the British war mission in Russia, was familiar with Russian conditions and people. After the campaign the last of the Americans set sail from Archangel on June 26, 1919. The Roll of Honor (see *The American Expedition Fighting the Bolsheviks*, by Joel R. Moore) was: Killed in action, 83; death from other causes, 14; the dead of wounds received in action, 27; missing in action, 29; died

of disease, 69, and 12 prisoners of war, not to mention the long list of sick and wounded.

Against the panorama of the long campaign, amid endless stretches of forest and snow, I see clearly the scene of our first burial at the front. One of our number who had been overeager in the trench and had attempted to see the enemy for better aim had been shot through the head. We buried him in a most dismal spot, a clearing in the woods a mile or so behind the front lines. The place was swampy and water stood in the grave; the dank forest rose like a smothering wall to encircle us. It had been planned that those available from duty, about a dozen of us, march behind those bearing the wooden box and our comrade, with a bugler to furnish the music and the boy's squad mates to fire their rifles in the last salute. As our outfit lacked an American churchman, we obtained the services of a Russian peasant priest. When our march began, the priest in his dark monastic gown, bushy black whiskers and long unkempt hair started to chant, and as we marched the chanting grew louder. We had no common language, but somehow the Captain silenced him at the grave, so that when the coffin was being lowered the clear notes of the bugle rang out clear and full. Then the squad mates lowered the box and the rifle boys fired their mate's last salute.

Far from the Western front, near the edge of the Arctic Ocean, about 3,000 miles from military headquarters in England, the 339th Infantry buried its dead. From this distance we seemed like a foolhardy little band of soldiers completely lost. In fact, the War Department has not, as yet, assured us that we were not lost. The British adopted, clothed and, some say, starved us. It was quite obvious that our regiment had been assigned to this special duty under British command and then forgotten because of the pressure of affairs of greater concern and importance.

This situation engendered not only hard feelings, but actual hatred for the



U. S. Army Signal Corps

American troops marching through Vladivostok, Siberia

British. One of the boys, in a crazed moment, shot and killed an English officer. I have the rifle; it was one previously taken from a Bolshevik prisoner. At another time a small group of soldiers just out of the trenches tore a British flag to pieces and stamped it into the mud. Though I never shared this bitterness toward the British, I was constantly aware of its fermenting throughout the force. The British were not to blame. In the circumstances, in which American soldiers were commanded by foreign officers and even sergeants on occasion, such a reaction was inevitable. The French soldiers reacted in a similar way; they were party to the act of destroying the British flag. Reverse the situation and we might well expect the British soldiers to do the same thing.

The object of the expedition was, as has been said, first, to guard enormous supplies of ammunition supposed to be at Archangel, and secondly, to furnish a nucleus of the Allies in Russia around which anti-Bolshevist sympathizers might rally. But there was no supply of ammunition, though perhaps its fabrication was legitimate to fur-

nish an excuse for sending troops. The suggestion of aggressive warfare in Russia would hardly have gained the approval of President Wilson at that time, to say nothing of the protests it would have raised in Washington.

The real object of the expedition appears to have been to engender trouble for Germany on the Eastern front. As a part of this general plan, small forces were entered at Vladivostok and in the South as well as at Archangel. The general opinion was that well over 90 per cent of the Russians were not Bolsheviks at heart and would rally to the allied cause if encouraged. This, however, did not prove to be the case, but if it had, our so-called invasion of Russia would have been a clever military move, the more so if the war had continued. As things turned out, our little force was unable to unite with the others, and the Russians did not rally to our cause. Thus were we isolated, forgotten and left without reinforcements to fight a war of our own. The armistice did not apply to us, for we fought our worst battles long after it was signed.

The Dvina River and the Archangel-

Vologda single track railroad are the two main highways penetrating the forest wilderness of North Russia. They connect Archangel with Central Russia. Our first battalion worked south up the river, the second remained in Archangel for support, and the third pushed south along the railroad. Aggressive warfare of less than a month scattered our small force over hundreds of miles of territory. As we moved south along the river and the railroad, capturing small towns every few miles, detachments were left at each place. It was also necessary to post men on each road and path through the woods. These spread out over hundreds of miles to the east and west. Somewhere along each of the byways from two to eight men formed an outpost. Our front line, therefore, constantly expanded in three directions as the main bodies moved south along the railroad and the river. The immediate effect of this was that the force was soon scattered over Northern Russia far too thinly for safe defense or good liaison. The loneliness of the scattered outposts became terrible during that long, dark Arctic Winter.

The Bolsheviks retreated without much resistance along the railroad until we had reached Verst 464, a point a few miles south of Obozerskaya and 85 miles from Archangel. The situation was very suggestive of the way Napoleon was enticed to march on to Moscow. The Russians destroyed what little there was as they retreated, and finally stopped us in the heart of the forest. One of our last offensive drives on the railroad was at this point. The enemy had several big guns which were mounted on armored cars, coupled to an engine. Our artillery consisted of one old naval gun which had been

dismounted from a ship, remounted on a flat car and brought to the front. The enemy had an observation balloon, while we had none. Their infantry outnumbered us more than ten to one.

Our attack was perfect on paper. The available force amounted to one section of twenty-one trench mortars, one section of machine gunners, one company of French and two of American infantry. The machine gunners were posted in the immediate front beside the railroad. The infantry were divided into two attacking forces. One of these was to encircle the enemy during the night and at the zero hour, 6:05 A. M., dynamite the railroad behind the Russians to prevent the retreat of the artillery and then attack them from the rear. The other section of infantry was to flank the enemy by the other side and execute another surprise at the zero hour. There remained



U. S. Army Signal Corps

American soldiers on patrol near the Vologda Railroad. They wore white capes so as not to be seen

about ten of us with the old gun to support the small forces in the immediate front and to resist any frontal attack which might be made against us. The element of surprise was all that could possibly have been to our advantage.

We were beaten and did not know it, while the enemy did not become aware of it. Both of our flanking forces were lost in impenetrable swamps during the night. The machine gunners were sadly cut up and our position was wide open and defenseless, but there was no retreat. There was no place to go. By the time the Russians had awakened to the situation and begun to pursue us, two things of importance had occurred. Major Nichols had arrived to take command and Captain Moore had returned with his men water-soaked from the swamp where they had spent the night. Major Nichols ignored the British Colonel's order to retreat and Captain Moore with his men advanced into the face of the victorious howling enemy and stopped him. Except for that, the entire campaign would probably have come to a tragic close. The

river force would have been hopelessly stranded if the railroad had been lost.

Winter came on. Log cabins were built by the engineers. Snow fell and covered everything with a peaceful whiteness. Henceforth we were on the defensive. But when Spring melted the snow our front line was still occupying the positions where the men were when Winter had closed in. It was a long, hard, cold Winter, with constant fighting, bad food, no fresh materials, frozen moldy mutton, rabbits and canned goods. Everything that could freeze, froze.

On March 16 and 17, 1919, the enemy executed the drive which penetrated our wing and seriously threatened our base at Obozerskaya. They captured Bolsheazerki, a town sixteen miles from Obozerskaya. This they fortified with artillery and over 7,000 men. A meager force of 200 Americans and 400 allied troops, mostly Russians, was sent out to recapture the town and so remove this dangerous threat to our base. The engagement lasted about two weeks. There was no shelter, with the temperature well below zero and snow to the



U. S. Army Signal Corps

BLOCK HOUSE AT VERST 464 ON THE VOLOGDA R. R.
This picture was taken on Feb. 17, 1919, at a temperature of 50 degrees below zero

waist. Nearly five months after the signing of the armistice this battle, one of the fiercest of the entire campaign, was fought in defense of our most vital quarter, Obozerskaya. The enemy withdrew, smarting with defeat and heavy

losses. This was our last front. Some of us were finally transported home in June and July, 1919. Others—the dead—are coming now. Some “missing” will continue to sleep beneath the turf and snows of our memories.

III—Waging War in “Frozen Hell”: A Record of Personal Experiences

By *GORDON W. SMITH*

SERGEANT, COMPANY D, 339TH INFANTRY, NORTHERN RUSSIA EXPEDITIONARY FORCES

ON SEPT. 14, 1918, Company D, 339th Infantry of the American Expeditionary Forces, took its initial hike into Red Russia. On our arrival in England we had previously been relieved of our American rifles and given antiquated Russian equipment, because Russian ammunition awaited us in Russia. Now, every man, great and small, was given size twelve Shackleton boots, and the little fellows virtually “walked backwards.” Hardships abounded. We had no tobacco, whisky or rum; ours were limited rations consisting of corn beef and hard tack, while the English ate heartily of steaming food. English officers commanded us. We were under their jurisdiction, even though Colonel George E. Stewart was our commanding officer.

October took us 175 miles past civilization, with insufficient food and no shelter. We fought like cornered animals, many of us bereft of reason. November, with its raw Arctic cold of 30 degrees below zero, descended upon us with terrible ferocity. Every step had to be forced through six to ten feet of snow on level ground, with the added difficulty of snow shoes. The Bolsheviks were hemming us in. Days and nights of Arctic bitterness were passed in aimless patrols into distant woods. Men died in action needlessly, and suffered untold agonies for want of proper shelter and attention. There were only two doctors to care for three companies of men on the isolated Dvina front, and these worked without adequate medicine or supplies. In battle the wounded

lay helpless at the mercy of a blizzard until crude first aid could be given. With December, and Christmas approaching, homesickness enveloped us. We did not know that almost a month before the armistice had been signed and that ships had already sailed crowded with American soldiers bound for America!

Almost a month later, on Jan. 21, we engaged in the hardest battle of all. It was in the town of Shenkursk, which was occupied by about 230 of our troops, 40 Canadians and a few “White” Russians. The town was well guarded against attack, but with 30,000 Bolsheviks closing in upon us, we were up against a desperate situation. The Bolsheviks made their attack on skis and in white suits to match the snow. It was a terrible battle. In that battle A Company lost most of its men. Through tortured days and nights the conflict took its toll from our troops. Indescribable atrocities were committed. On one occasion a patrol of five Americans were ambushed a few miles from Shenkursk, and their mutilated bodies were afterward found, one of them pinned to the ground by a bayonet.

Our artillery took its stand outside of Shenkursk with four eighteen pounders, which were so outranged by the enemy guns that, rather than waste ammunition and energy on them, they fired pointblank range at the attacking Bolshevik infantry. Their stand was a long, tedious one, and finally, exhausted, they slept where it was their privilege to stop. Our wounded were scattered thickly among the dead, and

with the Bolsheviks gradually surrounding us, our predicament seemed hopeless. Our courageous English associates in battle advised leaving behind our wounded and field artillery, and retreating. This we fought strenuously, with the aid of the Canadians, and finally had our way. We gathered our wounded and escaped through a narrow back timber trail overlooked or not yet reached by the Bolsheviks, and tramped 33 miles through Arctic wilderness, with the fury of Arctic cold in our faces, leaving behind us all supplies and much equipment. Some of our company were so exhausted and their feet so irritated and swollen that they removed their shoes and walked in their stocking feet.

Another month passed. The Bolsheviks had cut our lines between Kitsa and Vistofka. The King's Liverpool Regiment was ordered to go forward and break the hold around us, but they refused flatly to go. A Company of "White" Russians were ordered to go, and they did go, the King's Liverpools following in the rear. The Bolsheviks were driven off and prisoners taken. It was afterward learned through our prisoners that 700 Bolsheviks and sixty officers had made the attack on Vistofka, which had been held by but 90 Americans.

At 40 below zero we were 160 miles from Archangel, with no means of communication but horse and sleigh, en-

camped for days with no shelter, with but brief snatches of sleep huddled in the snow, our overcoats our only protection; no fires to keep warm by; one can of corned beef apiece and a few pieces of hard tack to eat! It was in such a desolate position that we did not receive the news that the armistice had been signed until three months after the event.

There we were, fighting the enemies of a tyrannical government, going mad and dying like rats of wounds and disease, while a world far removed from our cause was settling back after a wild demonstration of joy, preparing to build up a broken universe. Neither Trotsky nor our own government gave us so much as a sign of peace. We were forgotten by our own country, ignored by the one for which we were fighting and drenched in belligerent blood for a thankless people.

Over the frozen chaos of Russia we carried our dead, along narrow paths through dense woods, and buried them in the only fashion possible—in heaps. Some natives undertook to bury some of our dead, and before dumping their bodies into pits they removed the metal tags of identification. Patiently we waited for the word that would bring us home, but weeks passed and no word came. America was congratulating itself upon the great victory of peace, and it was not until the latter part of May, 1919, that we were released from that "frozen hell."

Mass Education in America

By JOHN DUGDALE

GRADUATE OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY; STAFF OF *The Spectator*, LONDON

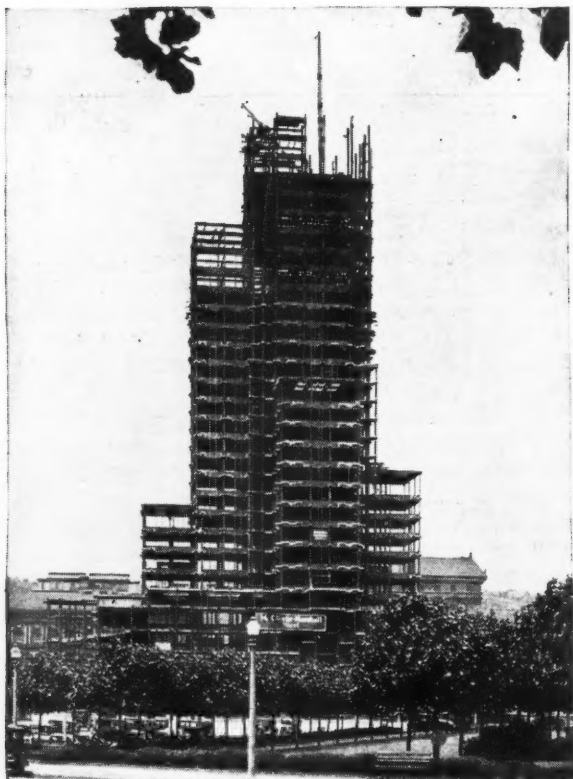
ONE THING stands out above all others to the visitor who makes even a cursory study of American colleges. It is not their wealth nor their buildings nor their facilities, though all these may impress him. It is their number. With less than three times the population of Britain, America has over 100 times as many colleges.

Why is it that the newest country in the world should have more colleges than those whose history dates back to the Middle Ages? Surely, one might think, the older the country the more its seats of learning. The answer is to be found in the genius of American industry. While there are many (particularly college professors) who may believe that the college makes the nation's mind, there is also an excellent thesis that the nation, and in this century the nation's industries, make the college. Mass production and salesmanship, together with a spice of luck, seem to Europe to be the two things which have given America the highest standard of living known to the human race. Just as England produces a very few Rolls-Royces and America millions of Fords, so England has produced Oxford and Cambridge, while America has founded forty-eight State and hundreds of private colleges. This is not written as a condemnation of American colleges, nor is it one more attack by an ignorant European on American institutions. But most American college professors would be the first to admit that the general standard of American colleges is not as high as that of Oxford and Cambridge. If it were, then indeed America would have an educational system that has been the dream of European professors for centuries. But Oxford's system and standard could not even be spread all over England.

It is essentially something that suits only a few minds and is not adapted to the masses. America has determined that the masses shall be educated—the masses have in fact determined this themselves—and only by a mass education system can this be done. Out of this dream of mass education has grown the American college.

According to Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn there are three leading motives for going to college in America. There is first of all a large number who go to college because a university education has become almost essential for any man who hopes to get a high post in a big business establishment. This group is not interested in scholarship for its own sake and regards college as simply a means to an end—business success. As a certain captain of industry put it, "you can 'cash in' on a university education in later life." This class does not exist in England because a university education at Oxford and Cambridge is no help at all to a man intending to enter business. Business experience, not a classical background, is what the English employer wants, and no English university provides an education in business experience. The writer, after spending three years at Oxford, felt himself less fitted to enter a business than he did on "going up." If business efficiency had been his aim he would most undoubtedly have done without any university education.

Once American big business, hunting for ways and means of increasing efficiency, decided that a university education was an asset, it put its whole heart into encouraging the university. And the more it encouraged the more it determined the trend of university education. Once it was accepted that a university education was a help toward a successful business career, then edu-



Ewing Galloway

The University of Pittsburgh's new skyscraper, fifty stories high when completed

cation was very rapidly molded to this end, and the answer to the age-old question, "What is an educated man?" became "A man who is fitted for a successful business career." And so there developed classes in salesmanship and advertising and business administration, and the old aim to turn out a man well versed in the classics was forgotten in the mad rush to produce business men. With the new slogan, "a university education for all salaried workers" and with financiers and administrators on the faculty board in place of scholars, the "Business Training Course" arose and American colleges doubled the number of their students.

It would seem that, in so far as numbers of people who would never have gone beyond a school education now entered universities, this new trend

was bound to do actual good. Better an education in salesmanship and a chance to meet scholars than no education at all. The chance of making contacts and getting "an introduction to culture" is the real value of a university education to the millions who go only to become better business men and women. Mass education, even if it gives only a glimpse of real education to its students, may be the beginning of a higher education for thousands in the next generation. The second class of students, whom Mr. Meiklejohn has aptly designated the "kindergarten," go to college mainly because it is "the thing to do" and because their fathers have enough money to support them in comfort and they themselves have not enough imagination to get interested in any career for its own sake. They are sent to college for "the life," a pleasant, easy time, with plenty of sport and not too much thinking. But they do not enter seriously into

any scheme of new education, and judging by Oxford, which has had them for several centuries, it is not likely that they will be eliminated.

There would seem to be yet another class of students in American universities which is a counterpart of the Women's Club movement. Thousands of young Americans who, had they been Europeans, would never have thought of a university education, are today fired with an ambition to learn something, they do not quite know what. This thirst for knowledge is seen in its worst form in the booklets that tell people how they may become "cultured in six months" or get a "conversational equipment complete with quotations from the leading authors of the day." This class is actuated by the desire to be "in the swim"—a variant of the

desire of every woman to dress in the very newest fashion. Librarians will tell you that people demand the "book of the week" and, if it is not available, will return a week later and once more demand "the book of the week"—not the book of last week, which by now has become available. In its best form this thirst for knowledge is one of the finest things about the United States today. The kind of men who will work their way through a university are badly needed in Europe, where there are still too many class barriers. Too long has Oxford been a place where only the sons of the rich and the "upper classes" go. The American student should not be compared with the student of Oxford and Cambridge, but rather with the mass of the British public, who have never received any university education at all. In a university sense England is still an oligarchy, while America is the first country to try and educate the democracy who rule her.

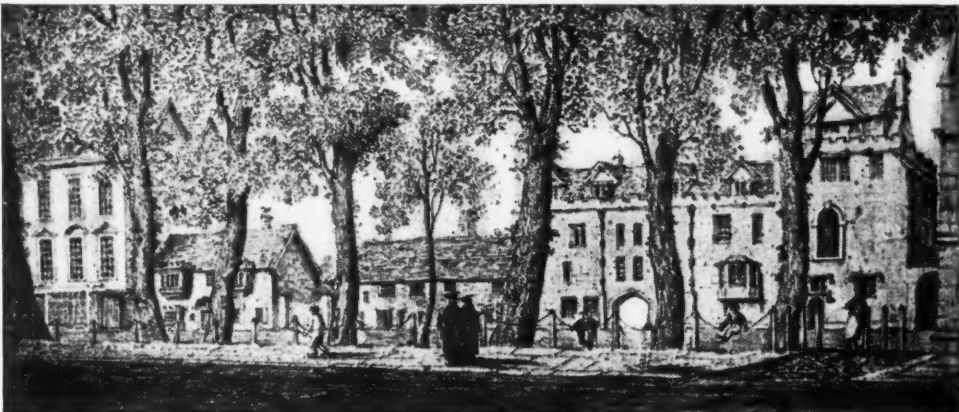
There are, however, the few real thinkers who go to college because they are genuinely interested in learning for its own sake, not to buy a thousand dollars worth of education, but to think things out for themselves, with a professor to help, not cram information down their throats. These are the men and women who will ultimately be of greatest value to the nation, its thinkers and its leaders. Upon them will rest the burden of upholding Amer-

ica's cultural, esthetic and scientific standards.

But there is serious danger that the influx of the masses into the university will deprive these valuable individuals of a "higher education." Supposing Oxford were suddenly to be swamped by 10,000 students coming to get a "business education." It needs little imagination to see that the scholar would soon be a being of the past. That this danger is recognized by a number of educators who are behind the new educational movements in this country is evident in the sudden revolt against mass production. Swarthmore, Bryn Mawr, Rollins, as well as the universities of Wisconsin and of Buffalo, have all begun experiments designed to salvage the individual from the flood of mass education.

There are two ways in which this is being done. In the first place, the importance of small colleges is gaining recognition. Instead of trying to expand their institutions, educators are trying to simplify or subdivide them. Many big universities are trying to revert to what they were before the influence of big business and the rich alumnus who wanted something to show for his money. Harvard is being divided into four colleges in order to foster "college" or smaller "group" feeling, and other universities are proceeding along similar lines.

Will these liberal colleges really succeed by regrouping and subdividing in



THE OLD GRAVEL WALK AT MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD



The Story of Cambridge, J. M. Dent & Co.

St. John's College, Cambridge, from the "Backs"

recapturing the spirit of scholarship and individuality? It would seem that more than a simple splitting up will be needed before the old spirit returns. If the aim of this movement is simply to form a number of "group spirits," it may be argued that the fraternities already have these. To an Oxford student the American fraternities appear to have a more marked "group spirit" than Oxford colleges. Teamwork comes naturally to American students, and it does not need a small college to make group spirit. The value of an Oxford college is hard to explain. It consists partly in its buildings, partly in its antiquity and mostly in an indefinable "atmosphere." It does not consist in group spirit. If a university is subdivided for economic or administrative reasons, there may be some benefit, but if some miracle of educational atmosphere is expected, then it would seem that its sponsors are doomed to disappointment.

As another reason for the Harvard scheme it has been suggested that, far from creating new groups, it may help to break up old ones, that, instead of "Pennsylvania," "Idaho" or "Michigan" groups which remain self-contained, the students will make contacts with men from other States who happen to be

in the same college. And each college will be, as far as possible, a cross-section of the university, and thus of the whole United States.

If the "college system" is a doubtful blessing, the same cannot be said of that other effort toward restoring the "tutorial" and "honors" systems. In their development alone lies the salvation of the individual. Instead of the lecture hall with students all taking down "facts" unquestioningly as they drop from the speaker's mouth, there will be the tutor's study, the quiet talk by the fireside, the contact of the student's mind with that of the man of learning whose knowledge is not expressed simply in facts, but rather in an attitude toward life acquired through years of thought and study. Today even the best students, such as Rhodes scholars, know so little of the art of thinking for themselves that often they have to unlearn everything when they go to Oxford, where they are taught to accept nothing, even from the tutor, until they understand why it is so.

To an Oxford student it seems strange and a little comical to hear an educational movement called "great" and "new" in America which is entering upon the fifth century of its existence at Oxford. The terms "honors

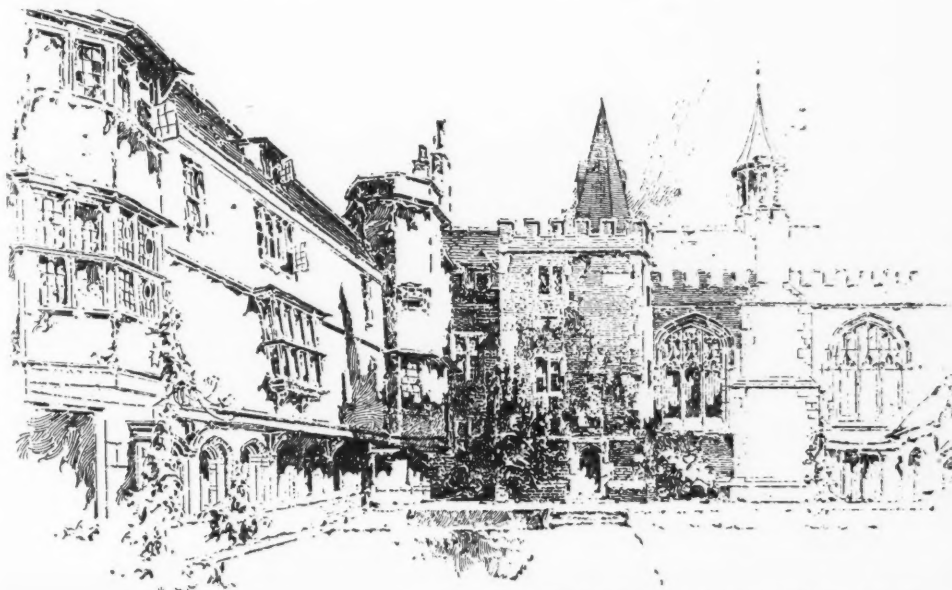
school" and "tutorials" sound new and exciting in America, where education began with the masses and is now trying to reach the individual, while we in England began with the individual and have scarcely yet attempted to reach the masses.

No tutorial systems and no new education will turn the masses of any country into philosophers. In Oxford, where similar systems have been in operation for hundreds of years, there is still, year in and year out, the same big group of students who have never thought for themselves and never will. This group is expressly provided for in the "groups" system, which allows them to take an examination every term on a limited field of study and requires only "facts" from them. The honors student, on the other hand, after learning his facts must co-relate them in one examination after two years.

To sum up, then, the American college system has the distinction of being the first to attempt to give the masses a university education. It cannot be compared to the college systems of other countries, for it has attempted more than they have. But in this at-

tempt it has sacrificed the individual. The American university with its group spirit, its conventions and its tyranny of the mass over the individual is far more like the English "public school" than it is like Oxford and Cambridge. Like the "public school," too, it doles out "information" instead of "knowledge"—a natural result of catering to the masses instead of to the individual.

There is today, however, a widespread attempt to remedy this defect by restoring the individual to his pre-eminence. In the same enthusiastic spirit with which America set out to give every one a university education she is today setting out to make every educated man an individual. This cannot succeed, for the majority are not and do not want to be individuals if it means that they must think for themselves. But in aiming at individualism for the masses the "new education" movement may for the first time set free those who want to think for themselves. If the masses can be educated without swamping the individual, then indeed America will have achieved something which Europe has not even attempted.



The Story of Cambridge, J. M. Dent & Co.

CLOISTER COURT, QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

The Mandate System in Germany's Lost Colonies

By HEINRICH SCHNEE

MEMBER OF THE REICHSTAG; FORMER GOVERNOR IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA

THE MANDATE system was introduced in connection with the establishment of the League of Nations at the initiative of the late President Wilson. Not he, however, but General Smuts, Foreign Minister of the South African Union, was the inventor of the system. But Smuts wished to apply it only to the Turkish regions in the Near East, and it was in opposition to Smuts's view that the German colonies should be annexed that Wilson at the session of the Council of Ten on Jan. 24, 1919, insisted on applying the mandate system also to these colonies. The recourse to the system was a compromise between Wilson's intentions and the allied powers' desire for annexation, which had led to the conclusion of a number of secret treaties during the war. The Allies vainly strove to overcome Wilson's opposition to annexation, and accepted the mandate system only as the solution of an otherwise unresolvable dilemma.

But the setting up of the system was a contradiction of one of Wilson's Fourteen Points—viz., Point 5—for Germany's claims to these colonies were never heard, though Point 5 provides for

A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

The real motives underlying the allied acceptance of the system, however, were correctly characterized by Robert Lansing (*The Peace Negotiations*, 1921; pp. 139-40), when he said: "If the ad-

vocates of the system intended to avoid through its operation the appearance of taking enemy territory as the spoils of war, it was a subterfuge which deceived no one." In another passage he plainly says that "in actual operation the apparent altruism of the mandatory system worked in favor of the selfish and material interests of the powers which accepted the mandates," thus explaining their acceptance of the Smuts-Wilson solution.

The provisions bearing on the mandate system were embodied in the covenant of the League of Nations. According to Article XXII of the covenant, the welfare and development of the inhabitants of the colonies represent a sacred duty of civilization, guarantees for the fulfillment of which are laid down in the covenant. The execution of this fundamental principle was to be secured by entrusting the guardianship over these peoples to those advanced powers who because of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, were best adapted to assume such a responsibility and were prepared to do so. They would administer this guardianship as mandatories of the League of Nations.

The mandates fall into three classes: The A-mandates, comprising the former Turkish territories, Iraq, Palestine and Syria; the B-mandates, taking in less developed peoples, and comprising Tanganyika Territory, the main part of German East Africa (English mandate), Ruanda-Urundi, the northwestern part of German East Africa (Belgian mandate), about four-fifths of Cameroon (French mandate), about one-fifth of Cameroon (English mandate), two-thirds of Togo (French man-

date), one-third of Togo (English mandate); and the C-mandates, comprising South West Africa (mandate of the South African Union), Samoa (New Zealand mandate), New Guinea and the South Sea islands south of the Equator (Australian mandate), the South Sea islands north of the Equator (Japanese mandate), and finally the small but valuable phosphate island of Nauru (English mandate). This class, because of small population or small extension, remoteness from centres of civilization or proximity to the territory of the mandatory, was made an integral part of the mandatory's territory, subject to certain conditions affecting the native population laid down also for the B-mandates.

The principles by which the mandates were to be administered were defined by the United States in the note sent by Secretary of State Colby on Nov. 20, 1920, to the English Secretary of State Earl Curzon, as follows:

To correct confusing inferences liable to arise from certain departures, which I believe I discern in your Lordship's communication, from the underlying *principles of a mandate*, as evolved and sought to be applied by the Allied and Associated Powers to the territories brought under their temporary dominion by their joint struggle and common victory, this dominion will be wholly misconceived, not to say abused, if there is even the slightest deviation from the spirit and the exclusive purpose of a trusteeship as strict as it is comprehensive.

This note was sent during the administration of Woodrow Wilson, and evidently embodied his conception of the nature of mandate responsibility.

In reality the development of the mandate system has proceeded along quite different lines from those which Wilson intended. This was the case first of all with respect to the division of the mandates over the German colonies; also in the drafting of special mandate provisions for the B-mandates. In these provisions two measures were embodied which were unreconcilable with Wilson's intentions and especially with the mandate system as laid down in Article XXII of the League covenant. First, in the provisions for the French

mandate over Togo and Cameroon, it is laid down that the troops reserved for police duty or defense in case of a general war may be used also outside the territory. This is in complete contradiction to Article XXII. Secondly, in the provisions for the B-mandates, especially Article X for the Tanganyika Territory (German East Africa), occurs the following:

The mandatory shall be authorized to constitute the territory into a customs, fiscal and administrative union or federation with the adjacent territories under his own sovereignty or control; provided always that the measures adopted to that end do not infringe the provisions of this mandate.

This mandate provision was drafted in London in 1922 and subsequently confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations, in which Germany at that time had no representative. This Article X is, however, illegal; because it is unreconcilable with Article XXII of the League covenant, which constitutes the fundamental basis of the mandate system, and in accordance with which the mandatory over the class of mandates to which German East Africa belongs has only the right of administration; a fusion with other territories is not permitted.

On this illegal basis the British Government proceeded when about two years ago it sent the Hilton-Young Commission to East Africa, to report on the question of the union of the East African mandated territory with the neighboring English colonies. The commission recommended the union—although public opinion in the territory was overwhelmingly opposed to it—under a High Commissioner who, after the initial steps were taken, was to be transformed into a permanent Governor-General. The chief motive alleged in the report was the need of a unified native policy. How untrue this was, was shown by the attitude of most of the lands involved, as well as of the representatives of the natives themselves, who were all against this union.

In reality, however, it was an attempt to annex to the other colonies German East Africa, which comprised two-

thirds of the colonial unit to be reconstructed. This is seen not only from the action hitherto taken by the British Government, but is also most clearly and unambiguously stated in a series of utterances by authoritative English personages and associations declaring this to be the real motive of the projected step. It was also demonstrated when later Sir Samuel Wilson, permanent under-Secretary of the British Foreign Office, was sent to East Africa on the same mission. His report in one

ferences existing between the territories involved, and for imperialistic motives is intended.

I have myself repeatedly drawn the attention of the Reichstag to these facts. The late German Foreign Minister Dr. Stresemann, in the Reichstag session of Feb. 1, 1929, declared that he would vigorously oppose any change in the mandate principles. Again in a session of the Council of the League of Nations he protested against all such attempts. The Italian representative



MAP OF SOUTH AFRICA

respect diverges from the Hilton-Young report, in proposing to turn over native policy to the local governments, but he nevertheless comes to the same conclusion, viz., that the union of the mandated territory with the neighboring colonies under a High Commissioner should be effected. And his proposal, completely ignoring the alleged motive expressed in the Hilton-Young report—viz., unification of native policy—shows that annexation, regardless of the dif-

Scialoja joined in this protest. Mr. Henderson, British State Secretary of the Foreign Office, promised to give the League Council an opportunity to consider the question before any decisions of the British Government were taken. We have the right to expect that the Council will prevent the projected union, for it is clear that under such a union the annexation of German East Africa, in fact if not in form, will be effected and that the mandate system

for this territory will be practically wrecked and destroyed.

Foreign administration of the former German colonies has in no way been conducive to that well-being and development of the natives which, according to the League covenant, was to be the mandataries' real task. Some economic progress has been made, but this can by no means be said of public education, nor of care for the public health. In respect to health work and the combating of sickness, the new administrators are far less efficient than the former German administrators, under whose régime a considerable number of German bacteriologists and doctors specially trained for service in the tropics were actively engaged in the German colonies.

Among other things, in the English mandate of German Africa, Tanganyika Territory, there has developed and spread a deadly epidemic of sleeping sickness which in the days of German administration was successfully combated, but which neither the British mandatary nor the French mandatary of Cameroon has found it possible to control with the means employed. The French colonial administration, it is well known, suffers great lack of physicians trained for service in the tropics. In Ruanda-Urundi, the Belgian mandate of German East Africa, there raged last year a terrible famine which, according to the report of M. Tilkens, the Belgian Governor-General, affected 300,000 people, of whom 100,000 emigrated; of those who remained many died. There can be no doubt that this drought and famine, caused by lack of rain and leading to such a terrible catastrophe, must have been the result of mistakes and blunders of the Belgian administration. In German New Guinea, as the result of blunders of the Australian administration in its treatment of the natives, troubles have arisen, to investigate which Colonel Ainsworth, an expert on colonial questions, was sent on a special mission, only to present in his report a very favorable picture of the mandatary's activities. That no fundamental change has been intro-

duced is seen from the recent rising of the native workers against the authorities in the chief port of Rabaul, in which the majority of the native police were involved. So in Samoa, the pearl of the South Sea islands, which was devastated by Spanish influenza after New Zealand began its administration as mandatary; due to negligence the epidemic spread widely and caused the death of one-quarter of the inhabitants. Through wrong administrative methods the peaceful natives have been driven into a state of revolt, embracing the majority of the population, and still enduring in the form of passive resistance.

Such is the picture presented by the former German colonies under the mandate system—in many respects a very unfavorable one. No unbiased critic who is in a position to compare the present with the past conditions will deny that the natives would have fared better under a continuance of the German rule than under the existing mandate system, and that they would benefit by the restoration of these territories to Germany.

In a memorandum issued in September, 1924, in which the initial conditions for Germany's entrance into the League of Nations were set forth, former Foreign Minister Dr. Stresemann stressed the necessity of the restoration to Germany of her former colonies, and expressed Germany's expectation in case of admission to the League to take an active part in the mandate system. At the Locarno Conference the allied statesmen admitted that after her entrance into the League, Germany would have the same right as other League members to ask for colonial mandates. This is significant only for its abandonment of the former contention of Germany's unworthiness and incapacity for colonization, on the basis of which her colonies were taken away from her by the victorious Allies. But apart from the admission of a German representative into the Permanent Mandate Commission no practical results have followed, and Germany's wish for active participation in the mandate system

through the return of her former colonies still remains unfulfilled.

Herr von Schacht, president of the Reichsbank, at the negotiations connected with the Young plan in Paris made an extremely important point when he stressed the fact that Germany, to be in a position to pay her reparation obligations, must receive overseas territories producing raw materials which it might develop with its own means and under its own administration. Unfortunately this point was set aside as political in nature, though in reality it was based on economic factors, and it was similarly disregarded at the recent conference at The Hague. But it will yet be seen that without such an extension of her resources of raw materials Germany will not be able to pay the gigantic sums required for reparations over a protracted period, and the colonial question will come to the front again in connection with the reparation problem.

Recognition of this situation is increasingly evident both in France and England. Many French circles see in the granting to Germany of an overseas colonial outlet the possibility in France's own interests of averting the danger of an explosion bound to occur in the case of a small land with a growing population deprived of a colonial outlet. In England Lord Rothermere has recently proposed restoring to Germany the English part of Cameroon and Togo. The British Secretary of the

Treasury, Philip Snowden, in an article published in July, 1926, entitled "Give Germany Her Colonies," said:

Great Britain has no interest in opposing the claims of Germany to colonial mandates. Great Britain has an empire large enough to satisfy the most voracious appetite. * * * The settlement of Germany's claim to colonial mandates must be the outcome of friendly bargaining. The mistake made in 1919 will have to be tacitly admitted. Some of the territory then seized had been acquired by Germany by purchase, other parts had been ceded for concessions elsewhere. Some of the areas now administered under mandate by other great powers would have to be transferred to Germany. When Germany enters the League, the whole question of colonial mandates will naturally be reopened.

Mr. Asquith, in the early days of the war, spoke as follows:

The peace of the world, which is a vital interest of every nation, demands the just settlement of this problem of colonization. It will involve the surrender of mandates now exercised, but that is a small matter compared with the denial of equal rights to Germany and the certain consequences which would eventually follow a policy of exclusion. There are precedents of recent date in transfers by Great Britain to Italy and Belgium.

These observations are so excellent that I need add nothing to them. Mr. Snowden would do a great service to humanity if he would convert these proposals, which would promote an enduring, peaceful understanding among the nations, into a reality.

The Failure of Minor Parties

By ELMER ELLIS

HISTORY DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

IN THE French Chamber of Deputies there are thirteen political groups, in the Polish Legislature about fifty, and the same situation prevails in most of the countries of Continental Europe. England has within the last ten years developed a third powerful party—the Labor party. The recent formation of the Democratic-Insurgent group in the Senate brings up the question whether a three, or more, party system is either desirable or possible in the United States. The new Senate faction can thus far only be called a "bloc," for it has combined on only one issue, the tariff. Whether it will crystallize into a political party remains to be seen. Senator Borah, himself a member of the group, recently gave his opinion of minor parties: "None is needed," he said. "The major parties offer full opportunity to present issues and carry them into action." Is this view borne out by our history?

Beginning with the election of 1872, we have always had one or more distinctly minor parties participating in our Presidential elections, but no new political group has for more than a single election threatened the established parties. Before 1860 different conditions prevailed, although the normality of the two-party system is evident in the Federalist-Republican and Whig-Democratic party situations. This relative instability is shown by the electoral votes cast for President. Five candidates received electoral votes for President in 1836, four in 1824 and 1860 and three in 1808, 1832 and 1856. Since the Civil War candidates other than regular Republican and Democratic nominees have received electoral votes in only three elections, those of 1892, 1912 and 1924; on the last two occasions this was due to mere factional disturbances within the older parties. In each case the new organizations' ef-

fective activity lasted through only one election campaign.

The first minor party of importance in this period was the Greenback party. The issue which gave rise to this movement was inflation. The appreciating standard of exchange in the period from the Civil War to 1895 was extremely burdensome upon the debtor class which included the western farmer. This party sent a bloc of fourteen members to the House of Representatives in 1878. These Congressmen represented every section, New England, Pennsylvania, the lower South and the West. But its national strength was not sufficient to give it permanence, and its decline in the prosperous period of the early '80s was rapid. With continued appreciation and recurring depression a similar group, the Populist party, succeeded it. This was a farmers' party with an extensive program of social and economic legislation. Free silver became its chief issue. In the Presidential election of 1892, its candidates carried four States, received 22 electoral votes and over 1,000,000 popular votes. Had the sound money faction remained in control of the Democratic party, the Populist might have become a major party, for observers agree that it was stronger in 1896 than it had been four years before. But the Democrats' free silver platform and the nomination of Bryan destroyed the Populist party by appropriating its one great issue. To put a candidate in the field against Bryan would only help defeat that proposal, and not to do so would mean the end of the party. Its decision to support Bryan may be considered either as a party victory or a defeat. From the standpoint of the party it was a defeat; from the standpoint of the issue which they forced a major party to champion, it was a victory.

This tendency of the Western farmers to break away from the older organizations, exemplified in the Populist movement, has been the most persistent new party tendency in recent political history. It is evident in all of the factional fights within the Republican party. The Roosevelt Progressive party of 1912 received its impetus from this faction, as did the La Follette movement of 1924. The question is often raised as to whether it will eventually create a permanent new party organization. The answer to this question will depend upon a vast conglomerate of tendencies, economic and social, as well as political. The political tendencies all seem to be against such a development, as the history of the Populist and Progressive parties show.

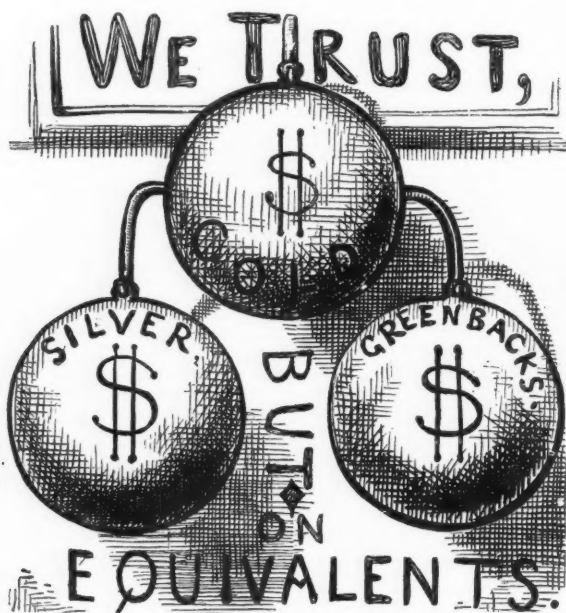
One important fact to be noticed is that leaders of minor parties are firm believers in the two-party tradition. Their strategy is always based upon the hope of destroying one of the older

parties and succeeding to its position. Frequently they choose their victim. Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President in the 1928 election, has frequently made the statement that the Democratic party is dead, and the only effective opposition to the Republican party is the Socialist group. We have yet to see an important minor party which proclaims as its purpose the formation of a permanent third party to divide political control with the two other organizations. Hence we have no third parties in the sense in which that expression is usually used, but only minor parties which hope to become one of the major organizations.

The election of 1928 was highly important from the standpoint of minor party development. An analysis of its results shows what may prove to be a turning point in their development. Certainly there was less of a threat against the major parties than there has been at any time since 1880. Yet

the age and maintained voting strength of several of our small parties have given them a sense of permanence in spite of their lack of electoral success.

The Prohibition party has been on the ballot in every Presidential election since its first appearance in 1872, but has never chosen a single Presidential elector. From 1884 to 1920 this party consistently received about 200,000 votes for President at each election. Its program, barring a few minor planks, has always been for prohibition with enforcement in the hands of those who believe in the law. In 1924 the party's vote decreased to 57,520, and in 1928 to 20,101—its smallest total since Neal



From *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 16, 1878

"O MY PROPHETIC SOUL! MY UNCLE!"—*Hamlet*

It was claimed that free silver, advocated by Bryan, would put the country into bankruptcy

Dow was its candidate in 1880. The emphasis upon the issue of prohibition by the Democratic candidate for President is partly responsible for the decrease in 1928. The chairman of the Prohibition National Committee came out for Hoover and attempted to withdraw its ticket from the ballot in several States. In California Hoover was its official nominee. The regular party candidates maintained a campaign of sorts, however, and the 20,000 votes is the measure of their success. This is not the only reason for the decline. In 1924, when there was no prohibition issue among the leading parties, the Prohibition party lost three-fourths of its usual vote. That loss of three-fourths became one of nine-tenths in 1928, and it would seem to mark the end of this group as a political party. Since the election its leaders have rebuilt their organization with a confidence that is not supported by its prospects. Unless unforeseen things happen in regard to prohibition between now and 1932, it is hardly likely that ballots of that year will contain this party's name.

In point of age the Socialist Labor party comes next. Although organized in 1876, it did not participate in a national election as a separate party until 1892. It is the first American Socialist party and originally had its strength among Socialist German immigrants. Today it occupies a position intermediate between the radicalism of the Workers party and the relative conservatism of the Socialist organization, but just where its policy would differ in the undreamed of event of electoral success one can only guess. Its greatest electoral success was in 1896, when it received 36,373 votes, or one-fourth of 1 per cent of the total. Usually it has garnered about 30,000 votes. In the recent election 21,181 votes were cast for its candidates in eighteen States. This is a distinct decline over the two previous elections.

The Farmer-Labor party of 1928 was the remnant of the numerous groups that united to form the party of that name in 1920, and with Parley Parker



From *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 5, 1896

"You shall not press down upon the brow of Labor this crown" (Bryan's famous phrase turned against him)

Christensen as its candidate polled a quarter of a million votes. In 1924 it followed the Socialist party into the ranks of the La Follette Progressives. In 1928 it represented an attempt to revive the sentiment for a party of class-conscious farmers and laborers which was evident in 1920 and 1924. Its proposals were chiefly a program of public ownership, social legislation and farm relief. Its electoral efforts resulted in a vote of 6,391—one-fortieth of its vote in 1920. Probably no party except the single tax group which participated in the elections of 1920 and 1924 ever received so little support.

The Workers (Communists) party was the only minor group which gained votes in the 1928 campaign. This group was organized in 1920 and participated in its first national campaign in 1924. It is the party of the Third International, and favors a communism modeled after the Soviet Government of Russia. Its membership is chiefly made up of immigrants



From *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 21, 1913
 W. J. B.: "Say, Debs, he's hooked everything that belonged to me, and now he's gone off with yours" (This refers to the 1912 Presidential campaign in which Roosevelt as the Progressive candidate tried to steal the Democratic and Socialist thunder)

from parts of the old Russian Empire. In the 1924 campaign it secured 33,076 votes for its candidates and in 1928, 48,228—a fair percentage of increase if one overlooks the meagerness of the totals. When one realizes how far this is from the strength once regularly polled by the Prohibition and Socialist parties, its futility is apparent. Then, too, a closer examination of these returns reveals that the gain is not an increase in the number of its supporters. The energy of its 1928 campaign placed its candidates on the ballot in thirty-four States, while in 1924 it was only on the ballot in fourteen. The increase is due to the scattering votes in these twenty added States where votes could not be cast for it in 1924, and this does not in any sense constitute an increase in its body of supporters. There can be little comfort in this vote to the Communists, but their organization, which maintains a daily paper, will no doubt continue.

Finally, there is the largest of our minor political groups, the Socialist

party. This group was organized by Debs, Berger, Hillquit and others in an attempt to break away from the Socialist Labor party, and to found a Socialist movement more in line with American traditions. Its ideal is a class-conscious labor party, and to achieve that end it has been willing to cooperate with other groups as it did when it joined the La Follette Progressives in 1924. Its own platform includes an extensive program of public ownership and social legislation. In the Presidential elections in which it has taken part its popular vote and percentage of the total vote have been as follows:

SOCIALIST PARTY VOTE

YEAR.	POPULAR VOTE.	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE CAST.
1900.....	94,864	0.7
1904.....	402,895	3.0
1908.....	420,890	2.8
1912.....	901,873	6.0
1916.....	585,113	3.2
1920.....	919,799	3.5
1928.....	267,835	0.7

Unlike other minor parties, the Socialist group has not been without electoral success. In addition to casting close to 1,000,000 votes in two Presidential elections, it has usually had one member in the House of Representatives, scattering members in State Legislatures, and control at different times of important municipal offices in Milwaukee, Minneapolis and Reading. Its greatest success on a national scale was the election of 1912. With three major parties in the field, two of which were appealing to independent voters of reformist tendencies, it secured 6 out of each 100 votes cast. In two States, Oklahoma and Nevada, its vote was over 16 per cent of the total, and in Washington, Montana, California and Idaho over 10 per cent. This was almost double its success in any subsequent election. Although it received a few more votes in 1920, the increase in the electorate made its percentage of the popular vote slightly over half of what it was in 1912.

The worst failure of the Socialist party came in the last election. Here it received fewer votes than it had had

since 1904, and its percentage is lower than it has been since its first appearance in a national election. The rise and fall of its percentage of the total vote follows such a normal curve that to the statistically minded it appears that the end of the party is in sight. Numerically it is in the same position that it was when it began in 1900. No American party with a similar history has ever grown to become a major party or even to continue as a political factor. The current tendency seems to be to interpret this great decrease as the result of the position of the two major party candidates on water power. The Socialist candidate for President, Norman Thomas, spent a great deal of his campaign argument in an attempt to prevent any large drift of Socialist sympathizers to Smith, and the Democratic organization emphasized that part of its program where it would do the most good.

The lack of support for the Socialist party, however, goes deeper than that. Using the votes in New York City as typical, the large decrease in the Socialist vote began immediately after the 1920 election. The vote for Mayor and Governor cast in the city shows that the decline was notable in 1921, and from that time until 1929 the Socialists have received only slightly over one-third of their 1920 vote. In the municipal election of 1929, Norman Thomas polled the largest vote ever received by a Socialist in the city. It is exceeded only by Hillquit's vote in 1917 in its proportion of the total. The remainder of the party ticket, however, received only about half as many votes, and observers seem agreed that the increase was due chiefly to the protest vote against the two major party candidates, and represents little change in the strength of the Socialist party. The small poll of the 1928 election is then only a record of the Socialist party's decline which occurred immediately after the election of 1920. A propaganda group which after twenty-eight years of activity has no more support at the polls than it had at its first appearance

lacks the quality of growth essential to any organism. A situation may occur in 1932 that will again swell the total vote of the Socialists. The nomination of outstanding conservatives by both major parties would create such a situation. But with the dominance of the Republican party as pronounced as it is today, the tendency for the Democratic party to make itself attractive to the "Progressives" will go a long way toward keeping it less objectionable to this group than is the Republican party. And where floating voters who have swelled the Socialist vote in the past see a real difference on issues between the major parties, they are not likely to be satisfied with a mere protest vote.

This is the ever-present factor that gives permanence to the two old parties. Voters who are independent enough to break away from their habitual political associations have strong beliefs in regard to particular issues. But they are realists and do not, as a rule, derive satisfaction from supporting parties or candidates who have little chance of winning. Consequently they usually support the more acceptable of the candidates of the two major parties. If a minor party champions an issue that becomes extremely popular, one of the older parties is almost sure to adopt it, and then the minor party is in the same position that the Populists were in in 1896. It must then march at the wheel of its conqueror's chariot, or help defeat the issue that brought it into being.

All signs seem to point toward the elimination of several minor political parties. From the standpoint of mere voting that would be a good thing; for they now clutter up the ballot out of all proportion to their importance. But from the standpoint of the education of citizens the result may not be so fortunate; for with them will go active efforts to educate the voter on matters that the major parties from their very nature try to avoid. And these are usually the very questions about which the voters need to be educated.

American Achievements in Haiti

By R. NELSON FULLER

STAFF OF THE DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

INSURRECTION, revolution and assassination, from the time of Haiti's discovery by Columbus, have broken the history of the "Black Republic" into short chapters, each punctuated by the maddest of financial operations, which forced the country each time into political, moral and financial bankruptcy.

During the 108 years before the American intervention, there were twenty-four Presidents, only two of whom were allowed to retire peaceably from office. The conventional method of securing the Presidency was revolution.

Each new President was faced with a financial dilemma, from which he usually extricated himself by floating an internal or foreign loan so that by 1914 Haiti was heavily indebted to French, English and German bondholders and, to a lesser extent, to Americans. In 1912 evidence came to our State Department that Haiti was negotiating with Germany for a loan of \$2,000,000 to be secured by exclusive customs control and rights in a naval base at a strategically situated port. This was denied by Germany in 1914, but she added the statement: "No scheme of reorganization or control in Haiti can be regarded as acceptable unless it is undertaken under international auspices."

This flagrant challenge to the Monroe Doctrine could not be ignored. In May, 1915, the United States Government sent Paul Fuller Jr. to try to bring about a convention; the Haitian Government replied with a counter project, and further discussion was prevented by another revolution.

Cap Haitien, the most important port on the north coast, was threatened, and on June 15, 1915, a French cruiser landed fifty marines. This

forced the United States immediately to dispatch Admiral Caperton, then at Vera Cruz, to "protect property and preserve order." After conferring with the American and French Consuls, he drew up an order stating that he was present to protect lives and property of foreigners, adding that "he had no intention of questioning the sovereignty of the Haitian Nation or of maintaining any but a neutral attitude toward the contending factions." (Hearings before Select Committee on Haiti and Santo Domingo, United States Senate, 1921.)

But next day at Port au Prince there occurred an event which precipitated active American interference. President Sam had incarcerated some 200 political suspects, and during the night of July 27, 167 of these prisoners were horribly slaughtered. News of this butchery was received by the people with the utmost rage, and early in the morning a mob surrounded the French Legation where Sam had taken refuge. He was dragged out, quickly cut to pieces, and the mob paraded through the streets dragging his dismembered body. It was at this juncture that Admiral Caperton arrived on the scene. The English and French representatives, who had already cabled for warships, united strongly in urging him to land American forces. His decision to do so was backed up by an order from the State Department. This moment marked the inception of the intervention by armed forces of the United States.

On Aug. 12, after revolutionary activities had been suppressed, Dartigue-nave was elected President. After a great deal of unfortunate bickering a treaty was signed between the United States and Haiti. The terms were practically those of the convention which

had previously failed of ratification, establishing a financial protectorate over Haiti; introducing a general customs receiver and a financial adviser, and providing for a "Gendarmerie d'Haiti."

Almost all the Haitian people welcomed the American intervention. The peasants wished only the opportunity to cultivate their little patches of ground in peace; the Haitians of the upper class, disgusted with the political chaos, were ready to accept almost any procedure which would assure order. A few politicians, however, whose plans were checkmated bitterly resented American interference.

The United States assumed definite obligations toward Haiti, but the treaty terms were so general as to be open to widely varying interpretations. As time passed there gradually developed a party which began to criticize the Haitian Government and the American officials for a too liberal interpretation of their powers. Moreover, many prominent Haitians had expected the intervention to bring immediate order out of chaos. When this failed of achievement their voices joined in the protest against the continued presence of the Americans. On March 1, 1917, the Haitian Government "requested the good offices" of the United States in the matter of a loan. In an endeavor to get the most advantageous terms, the government notified the United States of its desire to extend the treaty for an additional ten-year period, as provided in Article XVI of the treaty—that is, until May, 1926. When the contemplated loan, impeded by conditions resulting from the World War, was not immediately forthcoming there gathered a storm of criticism. Furthermore, in 1917, it became apparent that in order to bring about the results contemplated in the treaty, a revision of the Haitian Constitution was necessary. This was effected only after a Presidential decree of dissolution of the National Assembly, which was consistently blocking all efforts to draft a new Constitution. A transitory provision created a Council of State, ap-

pointed by the President, to function as the legislative body. Since that time no one has seen fit to reinstate the National Assembly—a policy which has been strenuously criticized as evidencing "political autocracy."

These political and administrative issues were of great moment only to the upper classes. But in the early years of the intervention, the Americans committed a blunder which aroused intense feeling against them among the peasants. In the effort to suppress the *cacos* (revolutionary bandits), the American forces met their greatest obstacle in the lack of roads. Accordingly, there was revived an old *corvée* law, dating from 1865, which required citizens to work three days out of every year on the roads and trails of their local communities. The general supervision of this roadwork was in the hands of the Haitian gendarmerie; it was soon discovered that the local gendarmes were favoring their friends by excusing them from duty and were punishing their enemies by forcing them to work two or three months. The continued complaints forced the American officials to discontinue the *corvée* after two years, but in that time a great deal of anti-American sentiment had been fomented.

The suppression of the *cacos* likewise aroused intense feeling, not only among the Haitians but among American critics. It was not until 1921 that the marines, assisted by the gendarmerie, succeeded in exterminating these marauding bandits by a constant guerilla warfare, during the course of which many innocent natives were killed. These occasional killings gave excuse for lurid press accounts of atrocities alleged to have been committed by our marines.

Most of the bad feeling in Haiti has arisen from the political and military aspects of the American intervention. There is, however, a civil side. Even the most fault-finding critics must admit that a great deal has been accomplished.

The organization of the American



Harris & Ewing

BRIG. GEN. JOHN H. RUSSELL
United States High Commissioner in Haiti

staff consists of: A High Commissioner, whose task is to unify the work of the treaty officials, a Financial Adviser (who is now also Receiver General), a Chief Engineer of Public Works, a Chief Agricultural Engineer, a commandant of the *Garde d'Haiti* (Gendarmerie), a Director of Public Health. The Financial Adviser-Receiver General and the Chief Agricultural Engineer are civilians, the Director of Public Health and the Chief Engineer of Public Works are officers in the United States Navy, the commandant of the *Garde* is an officer in the United States Marine Corps. All are responsible to the Haitian President, as well as to the High Commissioner, and each collaborates with an official in the Haitian Cabinet.

The intervention has brought about far-reaching financial reorganization in Haiti. The public debt was reduced from \$30,772,000 (at the time of the intervention) to \$17,744,200 by Aug.

31, 1929. (Monthly Report of the Financial Adviser, August, 1929). The receipts for the fiscal year ended Sept. 30, 1928, were the largest in the history of the country. A comparison of average exports during the first and second halves of the last eight-year period shows an increase of more than 68 per cent. New taxes, especially on alcohol and tobacco, have increased internal revenues over 700 per cent.

The importance of the activities of the Department of Public Works can not be overestimated. Roads through the country were non-existent and the few primitive bridges were washed out every year. The people in the country districts lived in a world apart from the city-dwellers. The Department of Public Works has concentrated heavily on building about 1,000 miles of national highways. Commercial trucking is increasing; passenger buses provide interurban communication. Many inaccessible districts have been opened up for the peasants.

Many public buildings have been erected by this department in Port au Prince, such as the Palais de Finance, the *Garde* headquarters, the Agricultural College at Damien, and the Palais de Justice. The construction of barracks for the *Garde d'Haiti* in the outlying sections was practically completed in 1929. Ten hospitals in the larger towns and over 100 rural clinics have been built for the Public Health Service. The department has covered the country with an efficient telephone and telegraph system. There are now in operation eighty-nine miles of canals, and surveys have been completed for several larger projects. The department employed over 7,000 persons during 1928, with a ratio of 249 Haitians to one American (Annual Report of the High Commissioner, 1928). All manufacturing is done so far as possible in the department's shops, for the aim is to instruct natives in the use of modern machinery.

Estimating the total population of Haiti at 2,500,000 and the urban population at 200,000, it can readily be seen

that over 90 per cent of the people derive their whole income from agricultural production. Before the intervention, agriculture was conducted in a most primitive manner. There were no coffee plantations, although coffee is the main crop.

In 1922 the *Service Technique* was established as a branch of the Department of Agriculture. In addition to training teachers, this service maintains a system of rural farm schools. By 1929, over fifty rural farm schools had been established, each headed by a Haitian teacher. Instruction is given in Creole, the language of the peasants, and in French. Altogether about 10,000 students attend the schools of the *Service Technique*. The percentage of literacy in twelve schools more than doubled during 1928.

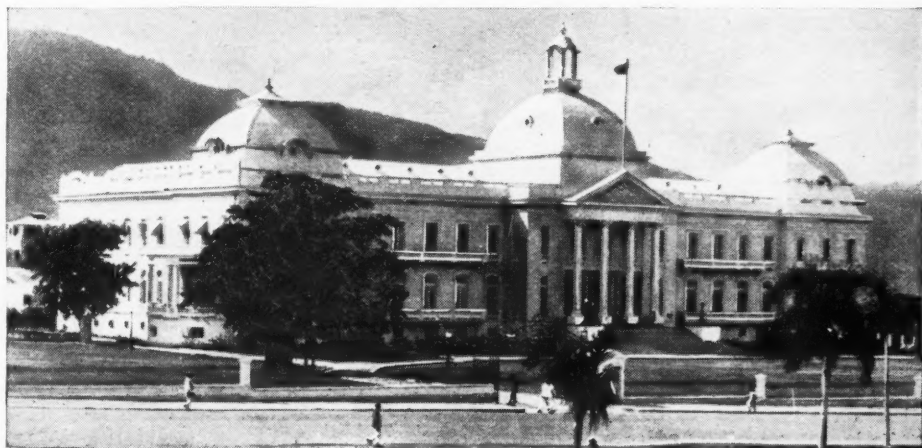
Recognizing that coffee is the principal source of revenue, the department has made efforts to increase coffee planting and to improve both production and quality; and on Oct. 1, 1929, there was put into effect a standardization law for the grading of export coffee.

The maintenance of order in Haiti is perhaps one of our most obvious achievements. The organization and training of a constabulary, as provided in the treaty, has proceeded since the

Haitian Army was eliminated in 1916. In 1928 re-enlistments in the *Garde* were 93.6 per cent, while desertions were only .0063 per cent. The men are now paid \$10 per month, as compared with 20 cents a month under the old régime, plus 20 cents a week for rations. The proportion of Haitian officers has increased from 19 per cent in 1922 to 38 per cent in 1928. Two of the districts are now wholly officered and manned by Haitians. (Report of Commandant, *Garde d'Haiti*, 1928).

The present force of the *Garde d'Haiti* is maintained at approximately its authorized strength of 2,537 men, and the number of United States marines had been reduced at the end of 1928 to one skeleton brigade of 37 officers and 500 enlisted men. The American authorities look forward to "the eventual change of the *Garde* into a force wholly officered and manned by Haitian personnel." (Report of High Commissioner, 1928.).

When the Americans first entered Haiti, they discovered almost unbelievable conditions in public health and sanitation. Disease-spreading filth and open sewers were common in all the towns. Large undrained areas were mosquito-infested. Most of the people were suffering from syphilis, yaws, hookworm, malaria and other burden-



Associated Press

The National Palace at Port au Prince, the capital of Haiti

some tropical diseases. Inasmuch as they had not the slightest knowledge of infection or contagion, recurring epidemics took huge tolls. There were but three poorly equipped and inefficiently administered hospitals in the whole country. With a few exceptions, there were no physicians other than the "Papa Lois" (witch doctors).

One of our first acts was to divide the country into sanitary districts with a public health officer in charge of each. The three existing hospitals were put under supervision and gradually improved; several more were constructed. Now there are ten major hospitals, with such improvements in personnel, equipment and buildings that today they compare favorably with similar institutions anywhere. An equally notable accomplishment has been the establishment of rural clinics, the number of which has increased from 16 in 1925 to 139 in 1928. During this period the number of consultations at such clinics annually increased from 146,579 to 866,673. The Public Health Service has attacked all diseases not only by curative treatment but by a system of sanitation. Inspection of public markets, cleaning of streets, draining and spraying of mosquito-breeding areas have been thoroughly organized. Chlorination units of the water supplies of Port au Prince have resulted in the almost complete disappearance of typhoid in the city.

The work of the Public Health Service, aside from its actual medical importance, has had an even greater educational value in the elevation of living conditions and general well-being.

The tangible benefits of the American intervention in Haiti are obvious today to even the most casual observer. The question now is whether these benefits will be continued after the withdrawal of American administration in 1936. A satisfactory answer to

this question will be the only justification for our intervention in Haitian affairs.

Critics of our policy charge that the American officials have neglected this vital aspect of the situation; that officials have been high-handed in assuming all the responsibility; that they have created agencies which function under American control but which will break down when turned over to Haitians. It is impossible to carry on any constructive program without first creating an organization, and putting together some necessary machinery.

This machinery has now been set in motion; during the next six years more attention can be given to the training of Haitian administrators. In both the Public Health Service and the *Garde* the system of replacement has been in effect for the past two years. The Department of Public Works and the Department of Agriculture have had productive periods of shorter duration and have been able only recently to begin this important part of their program.

The intangible benefits of our intervention are largely psychological. Through the continued peace and increased prosperity of the past few years, the people of Haiti have come to the realization that law and order are the fundamentals of national and individual well-being. There has arisen a generation which could hardly be stirred to general revolution such as recurrently marked the pre-intervention years of Haitian history. A Haitian peasant has summed this up: "Do you know I would fight for you, and so would my sons? Formerly we had no peace. My sons were taken away from me, my crops were destroyed. You have come and given us peace. I can now work my garden and sell my crops. I am protected and assisted. We would fight for you." (Annual Report of High Commissioner, 1928).

Pseudo-History and Pseudo-Psychology

By JAMES J. WALSH

FORMER PRESIDENT, AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE WORD "NEW" has a compelling attraction for certain types of mind, especially among the young. They, as well as many who have grown up and yet retain their youthfulness, are afraid of being regarded as behind the times if they should prefer the old to the new. This tendency is itself not new; it is one of the oldest moods of mankind. The Athenians in St. Paul's time, we are told, "spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing."

In our own day, also, we witness a series of reactions to human problems labeled "new." Without going back to what was called New Thought, now almost forgotten, we find ourselves confronted with the New Psychology, the New Biography and the New History. How much is there in them of anything worthwhile that can be called "new"? Closer examination of the past will often reveal what we suppose to be new is really old; on the other hand, if it be really "new," the chances are that it will not be long before its worthlessness is apparent and it disappears.

Among these novelties to which our generation attaches the greatest importance is the New Psychology, by which is meant the theory and practice of psychoanalysis popularized by Freud and his followers, among whom, however, there have since been divergences and secessions leading to the setting up of various other new schools. Psychoanalysis has obtained a great vogue, and especially among intellectuals it has become a fashionable cult. Without thinking for themselves, many people have been persuaded that Freudianism offers a marvelous new insight into the human mind and human conduct, that through psychoanalysis and its theory of the subconscious new

vistas have been thrown open to our gaze, and that the doctrine of suppressed desires and their consequences represents an advance of great practical import.

On the assumption that psychoanalysis brings us new insight into human character, a widespread attempt has been made to change the whole method of writing biography and history as well as other forms of literature. Lives of eminent persons of the past have been rewritten in terms of Freudianism, while novelists and playwrights have borrowed new motivations from what they have read or heard of the suppression of the libido and the evils of repression.

But on what does this psychology rest its claims to acceptance? Freud cured a patient suffering from psychoneurosis, or what an old-fashioned doctor would call hysteria. Yet there have been so many cures for hysterical conditions that to adopt one of them because it is new, as a criterion of psychological truth must indeed seem strange. Apart from this, the more we learn of the historical background of Freud's ideas, the clearer it becomes that whatever is new in them is, as a rule, not true, and that whatever is of real value is not new and has been understood even by peoples usually regarded as low in the intellectual scale.

Typical of this is a passage in the *Jesuit Relations*, quoted by Agnes Repplier in her life of Père Marquette (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co.). Marquette, as a Jesuit, had received an education which included the study of psychology, and with other missionaries among the Indians was keenly interested in investigating mental processes as understood by them and particularly by their medicine men. "It is interesting to note," Miss Repplier

writes, "that among certain tribes, noticeably the Hurons, the medicine men believed, or professed to believe, in suppressed desires [as the cause of disease] as firmly as if they had been Freudians of today."

Though we are apt to be contemptuous of the Indian medicine men and of the naiveté of those who thought they were benefited by their healing methods, we find that they used treatments which have proved quite efficacious for certain kinds of disorders in our own time. Père Jouvencey, one of the Jesuit missionaries, was particularly impressed by the curious notions of the Indian medicine men as to the mental causation of disease. "They believe," he says, "that there are two main sources of disease. One of these is the mind of the patient himself, which *unwittingly* craves something and will vex the body of the sick man until he possesses it, for they hold that there are in every man certain *inborn desires, often unknown to himself*, upon which his happiness depends. For the purpose of ascertaining such *innate and ungratified appetites* they summon *soothsayers*, who, as they think, have a *supernaturally imparted power* to look into the *inmost recesses* of the mind." (Italics mine.) Miss Repplier's comment on this is, "If this be not modern, where shall we turn for modernity?" Here surely we have the suppression of the libido, the rôle of the unconscious in ill-health and unhappiness, and, above all, the psychoanalysts—the soothsayers—revealing deep-seated repressions and neutralizing their effects.

"The only archaic touch about it," Miss Repplier adds, "is the sex of the individual." Among the Hurons and Algonquins it was the men who received the ministrations of the medicine men, while today it is the "women who are the profitable patients of all kinds of healers—spiritual, mental and professional." When the Indian brave was not fishing, hunting or making war, he went through periods when time hung heavy on his hands and his nerves became affected. And so he had to have the services of the soothsayer,

the psychoanalyst of his time. While the suppressed desires of the Indian men caused the greatest concern, their squaws "were pretty well accustomed to suppressing all desires, unconscious or otherwise, and too hard at work to think a great deal about them. If they felt sick, there was always the solacing thought so naively expressed by the old Ottawa chief to Père Marquette that it made no special difference whether they lived or died."

The New Psychology was quite freely developed 250 years ago, for it also had its interpretation of dreams just as present-day psychoanalysis has. The missionaries found it extremely difficult to rid the Indians of their most tenacious superstition, a profound and apprehensive belief in dreams. "Freud," says Miss Repplier, "would welcome the Hurons to his heart, would have told them shocking things and have intensified their dismal sense of uneasiness."

This, then, is the kind of psychology that the New History employs as a method for the understanding of the past. Yet, despite its "newness," psychoanalysis is becoming as thoroughly discredited as hypnotism and every other healing method which has been introduced in the treatment of hysterical conditions. All these methods are based on suggestion, which, because of repetition, ere long fails and is then discarded. Whatever is novel is, as we have said, nearly always illusory, and whatever is valuable is not new. In contrast to all we hear about the dangers of self-repression and the repression of desires as a source of neurotic symptoms, there is the old-fashioned idea among the pioneers in this country, which, founded on careful observation, was expressed in the words, "as healthy as a squaw." The Indian women, thoroughly repressed and suppressed, did not need soothsayers to solve their complexes, but went on with their work and kept themselves in good physical and mental health.

When Freud wrote his *Totem and Taboo* fifteen years ago and went back to primitive man for support of his

theory of the Oedipus complex, thus to establish an ethnological basis for psychoanalysis, the views of Atkinson and Robinson Smith on which he relied still carried some weight. Although their ideas have since been exploded, Freud, in a subsequent edition of *Totem and Taboo*, makes no reference to the changes in ethnology which reduce his theory to absurdity. This point is emphasized by Professor Schmidt, the well-known ethnologist of the University of Vienna, who, in discussing (in *Die Neue Reich*, No. 15, 1928) the absence of any support in present-day ethnology for psychoanalysis, says that Freud prefers the old, outworn ethnology because it enables him "to provide an insatiable public with sensational but empty speculations." According to Dr. Placzek, a well-known Berlin psychiatrist, Freudianism is rejected by the majority of German specialists, including such men as Professor Bumke of Munich, Professor Oppenheim of Berlin and Professor Hoche of Freiburg. In fact, Dr. Placzek declares, Freudianism is rapidly degenerating into a popular fad similar to what phrenology and hypnotism were in their time, while many critics see in psychoanalysis a prolific source of harm.

It is in the light of these facts that we should consider the popularity of the New Biography. Many people who formerly had no taste for biographical literature are now reading the lives of men in whom, but for the "new" treatment, they would never be interested. In the past biographers tried to present what was fine and noble in their subjects, whereas the practitioners of the New Biography are engaged in emphasizing what is mean and shameful in the lives of men. Some of them go even further, and on the slenderest basis of fact, or none at all, create the impression that the men they write of were worse than was actually the case. There is nothing new in this. Shakespeare makes Mark Antony say this over the body of Caesar:

The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones.

Those lines are appropriate to the

character of Mark Antony, for men who are aware of many faults in themselves are especially prone to see the evil in others. Such men feel they cannot be so bad if they can make others appear as bad as or worse than themselves.

How "new" is the New Biography? Suetonius, secretary to the Emperor Hadrian, scored a *succès de scandale* with his lives of the Roman Caesars. Most of the disgraceful stories and the personal gossip he retailed, even if it was fiction, made good reading, and has probably won more popularity than any other book of lives with the exception of Plutarch's. But Plutarch, let us remember, has always been held in high esteem and been more often read than the scandalmongering Suetonius.

Whatever is sound in the New Biography is derived from the methods of the old. Thus, George Alexander Johnson, reviewing Strachey, Maurois and Ludwig, finds that they are all indebted to the classical tradition in French literature, the tradition which recognizes that art is the elimination of the superfluous and the obvious and the heightening by special treatment of the essential. "The roots of the New Biography, so young, so fresh and so vital, are to be found embedded in the literature of 200 years ago," says Mr. Johnson. "Though it is detached and dispassionate, eminently objective and fond of painting brightly colored tableaux, with its suggestion of the movies, the New Biography is so thoroughly modeled on the old-fashioned classics as to make it evident that its best features are not modern at all, even if the qualities that make it popular reflect present-day preoccupations and tendencies."

What has been said about the New Biography applies with equal force to the New History. Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, in his *Living in the Twentieth Century*, devotes a chapter to the training he thinks the "new" historian should have. Though he must still be a student of documents, he must join to this "a thoroughgoing acquisition of the evolutionary or genetic point of

view, must know the facts and principles of anthropogeography, must be thoroughly acquainted with man's behavior, normal and abnormal, must have mastered the rudiments of physiological chemistry, and must have full acquaintance with comparative psychology. For human behavior cannot be understood when sharply separated from that of other animals, particularly that of our fellow-simians." The "new" historian must be thoroughly familiar with the new psychology, as well as with sociology and a number of other sciences. It is refreshing to find that Professor Barnes confesses that "few, if any, of the present expositors of the new history can meet the test just laid down in regard to the desirable preparation of the historian."

But how can historical judgments, founded on the knowledge of which Professor Barnes speaks, be of value when many of these sciences, or supposed sciences, are themselves in a state of uncertainty and confusion? An old aphorism in medicine declares that the remedies of one generation become absurd to the next, and with certain notable, though rare, exceptions this is true. Yet, internal medicine—the most difficult and often most baffling part of a physician's practice—is a veritable rock of exactitude compared to some of the branches of study with which the "new" historian is expected to be familiar in order to meet Professor Barnes's requirements. Some of those subjects, so far from being capable of helping the historian in interpreting the past, are far more likely to lead to intellectual chaos. Among the abler thinkers who hold this view is Professor Irving Babbitt of Harvard, who has suggested that the social sciences generally and the new psychology, including behaviorism, are looked upon by a considerable number of professors in other departments as little better than charlatanism in their present stage of development. Undoubtedly these sciences are too readily accepted as offering panaceas for our social ills in much the same way as similar "cure-alls" for various diseases are advocated

by superficially minded physicians or ignorant quacks.

In the writing of the New History determinism looms large. "It quickly becomes apparent," Professor Barnes says, "that no one can be held responsible for his actions, for they are the result of heredity and social conditions over which he has little or no control. Man cannot be willfully perverse. A man who commits a multiple murder is no more responsible for his behavior than an amiable and gentle philanthropist." Many other new or supposedly new scientific theories have been propounded to get rid of free-will and individual responsibility, but they can still be disposed of in the words of the wise old Samuel Johnson of the eighteenth century: "All theory is against freedom of the will, but all experience is for it." Behaviorism and determinism differ but slightly from the belief of the astrologers who taught that men were so influenced by the stars under which they were born that they had no responsibility for their actions.

However, the advocates of the New History have other theories on which to fall back. If heredity and environment are not enough to excuse human wrongdoing, the endocrines may be appealed to. The ductless glands were long thought to be useless organs, and their presence in the human body was accounted for as vestiges of preceding stages of evolution, this being regarded as an irrefragable argument for the theory of descent. But now the scientists have gone to the other extreme, and some of them, intent on solving all human problems at one clean sweep, hold that the glands explain nearly everything in the human organism. Yet, while these claims are being made for endocrinology, a large group of medical practitioners are patiently waiting to discover something definite about the glands that will be of service in therapeutics. Unfortunately, at the same time, certain quacks and charlatans in the medical profession announce that they are obtaining wonderful results on the assumed basis of knowl-

edge which no one possesses at all. It must be obvious that to the historian the value of endocrinology before it is established on a sound scientific basis is nil.

The conclusion, then, is that if the "new" biography and history are "new" only by virtue of their dependence on certain studies the validity of which has yet to be proved, the present vogue of rewriting the human story in the light of those sciences—or pseudosciences—is to be viewed with the greatest suspicion by all who are glad to find truth, whether it be as old as the hills or as up-to-date as tomorrow morning's newspaper. But it is altogether too early to accept as truth the theories of Freud and the other psychoanalysts or those of the many competing innovators in psychology, for this confused mass of hypothesis and speculation can obviously offer no safe foundation for any view of human nature, the more so as these theories tend to run counter to the values which the

experience of the race has developed in the course of long centuries. Despite the present-day anarchy in ideas and morals and despite all the changes wrought by an advancing civilization, there are permanent values which underlie human existence and give it lasting significance. This it is the function of the writer to keep always in mind. Whatever advantage the biographer or historian may reap from modern learning and science, it is certain that his work will suffer to the extent that he ignores or flouts the abiding values of human life. Whether in the literature of antiquity or of our own time, we find that ultimately the writings that win the highest esteem are those which are animated by a realization of the qualities which make life decorous, balanced and upright. Unfortunately, too much of the work of the "new" biographers, historians and novelists is inspired by a totally different philosophy and has an influence that can only be called pernicious.

Abyssinia, an African Sovereign State

By OLIVER McKEE JR.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT OF THE *Boston Evening Transcript*

FOR FIFTEEN CENTURIES a beleagured citadel of the Christian faith, surrounded by a ring of pagan or Mohammedan States, "unconquered" Abyssinia in 1928 welcomed Addison E. Southard as Minister Resident of the United States. Since the death in 1913 of a Vice Consul, then stationed at Addis Ababa, the capital, the United States had had no diplomatic or consular representative in this ancient country, which was converted to Christianity in the fourth century, and whose list of sovereigns, as legend hands it down, extending back to B. C. 4530, includes King Salomon and the Queen of Sheba, from whose son the present ruling house of Menelik traces its descent.

Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, as its people prefer to call it, is waking up. Mr. Southard went there with great changes in prospect. The barriers of the ages have fallen down, and to the curious eyes of the twentieth century is revealed a civilization of the Middle Ages feudal in its inner spirit and its external form. The advance guards of the modern age have pitched their camps in this feudal land. Commerce knocks at its door, as the trading nations of the world seek new markets here, as they do in other undeveloped corners of the world. Though steering clear, of course, of political commitments and international rivalry, the United States, with diplomatic representation at Addis Ababa, seems reasonably certain to play some part in the changes now taking place. Independent in the past and proud of it, the Abyssinians are resolved to maintain that independence in the future.

Empress Zauditu, daughter of the famous Emperor Menelik, has been the nominal ruler of the country, but the real control is now in the hands of

Ras Tafari. His full title now is His Majesty, Tafari Makonnen, King, Regent Plenipotentiary and Heir to the Throne of Ethiopia. As a leader of his people he may be compared with Mustapha Kemal Pasha in Turkey and King Ibn Saud in Arabia. He suffers nothing by comparison. Only 35 years of age, Ras Tafari is the dynamo behind the present progressive movement in Abyssinia, a movement which aims to bring Abyssinia out of feudalism into the modern age. He for long wanted the United States officially represented at his capital, and made this request in letters to the then President, Coolidge, and indirectly through the American Consul at Aden. His father was Ras Makonnen, an able and enlightened man, who, as representative of his country, visited London, Paris and Rome. He was designated to succeed his uncle, the Emperor Menelik, but died in 1906, just before the death of Menelik.

Ras Tafari was educated at the French Mission at Harrar and speaks and writes French fluently. He can thus dispense with the services of interpreters when he so wishes. He has a reading knowledge of English. He understands the needs of his country, but no one realizes better than he that Abyssinia cannot proceed too fast along the highway of progress without risking a possible setback. No country can bridge the gap overnight between feudalism and the twentieth century. His interests are wide and varied. He pays much attention to education, and in the economic advancement of his people he has much concern. He has approved a plan for sending selected young Abyssinians to study in Europe and America, and several of his countrymen are now in American institutions. He has founded a school, a hospital and several indus-

trial enterprises. He and his consort have built a small palace of a modern European type, and here they entertain the diplomatic corps and those foreign visitors to whom they wish to extend their hospitality. Ras Tafari has his own printing press and a model dairy. He has been instrumental in importing agricultural, roadmaking and other machinery. He has assisted American, Swedish and Jewish missions. In 1927 he visited Aden and was received by the British garrison and authorities with royal honors, appropriately due him. Later he visited London and other European capitals. He rises early and works late. Ras Tafari heads the party of progress in his country. He believes in the development of Abyssinia by foreign aid and in the introduction of ideas and reforms from Europe and America.

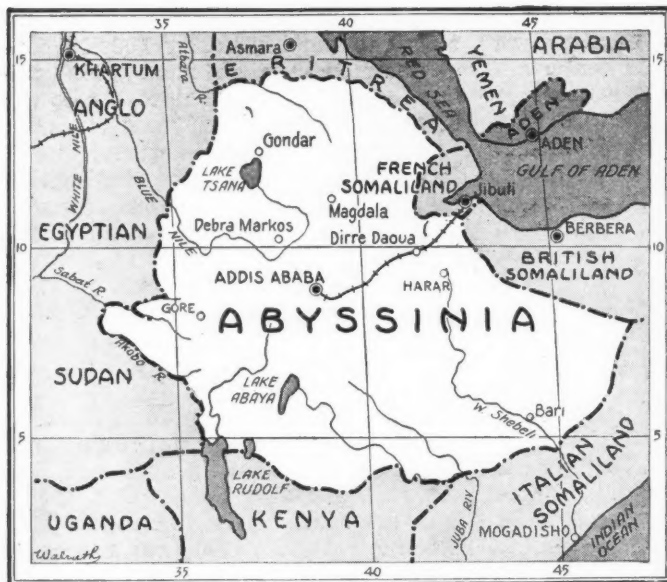
A strong reactionary party, however, acts as a powerful brake on the wheels of progress. The Empress still has some influence, and around her is gathered the anti-progressive and reactionary party. Under this banner, too, are the anti-foreign group; that is, those opposed to the introduction of foreign ideas. This party includes some of the leading feudal chieftains and the Church. Ras Tafari must always reckon with this opposition in his plans. With no opposition of this sort to contend with, he no doubt would have made even greater progress.

The coronation of Tafari Makonnen took place on Oct. 7, 1928. According to the usual custom prevailing in Abyssinia, where religion is taken seriously, an elaborate religious ceremonial featured the coronation. The ceremonies began in the early morning hours. Ras Tafari was crowned at 6 o'clock in the morning at the Imperial Palace. By invitation there gathered here for the occasion the heads of the foreign legations, leading Ethiopian nobles and the Governors of neighboring British, French and Italian colonies. The crown was carried to the Empress after it had been blessed by the Itchigue, the head of the State Church, and other of its high dignitaries. Then Tafari knelt before the Empress, who placed the

crown upon his head. A crowd estimated to number nearly 100,000 congregated on the streets and paths leading to the Imperial Palace. After the ceremony in the palace the party, with the exception of the Empress, moved in formal and elaborate procession to the ancient church of Selassie, where a grand mass was sung for King Tafari. Following this, the King, in a coach drawn by six horses and surrounded by a picked body of cavalry, headed an automobile procession over the main avenue of the city to his own palace, separate from that of the Empress. Then came a week or more of fêtes.

The Church looks with little enough favor on the reform program of Ras Tafari. The ruling race, the Abyssinians, are Monophysite Christians. This doctrine recognizes only one nature in Christ against the orthodox view that the divine and human natures coexisted in Him. Though they were not converted until the fourth century, tradition says that Matthew the Evangelist visited the Northern districts of the country about A. D. 30, and tried to convert the people. Apparently, however, he made but few converts to the new doctrines, and eventually left the country. The story of Abyssinia's conversion by two shipwrecked youths to the Monophysite form of Christianity is an interesting one. A Roman Emperor sought their aid about 1,600 years ago in a letter addressed to the "Christian Princes of Abyssinia." Persecuted relatives of Mohammed found refuge in Abyssinia before the hegira, and about five centuries ago the Abyssinians joined with the Portuguese against the invading hordes of Turks, Arabs and Somalis, who very nearly succeeded in bringing the Abyssinian people under their yoke.

Heading the Church today is an Archbishop, always appointed by the Chief of the Coptic Church in Alexandria. This priest, who is never an Abyssinian, has the title of Abuna, which is an Arabic word meaning "our father." He lives in Addis Ababa, and is not supposed to leave the country. The power to crown kings is his, and with-



MAP OF ABYSSINIA

out him no priest can be ordained. To all intents and purposes the Church is an independent one, though the appointment by Alexandria of the Abuna makes it nominally dependent upon the Coptic Church in Egypt. During the past few decades, efforts have been made by the Abyssinian Church to free itself from the Coptic Church, but the efforts until this year have proved barren. The Church has great wealth and influence. Priests and deacons, it is estimated, make up one-fifth of the male population of the country.

Since December, 1926, Abyssinia had been without an Abuna. There had been growing a strong feeling in Abyssinia that the Abuna should no longer be an Egyptian but an Abyssinian, and, furthermore, that Abyssinian Bishops should be appointed. The Coptic Church in Egypt had maintained, on the other hand, that it was essential that the Abuna be an Egyptian; and had opposed the appointment of Abyssinian Bishops, for the reason that under the rule of the Church three Bishops can consecrate an Abuna. A compromise was made early in 1928. Under its terms, the Abuna, as in the

past, must be an Egyptian. Five Abyssinian Bishops, however, are to be appointed. They must swear to obey the orders of the Abuna, and swear also that, under pain of excommunication, they will not consecrate any Abuna or King. The compromise is a clear gain for the Abyssinian Church, and the movement behind the demand for Abyssinian Bishops reflects the increase in the force of the sentiment of nationalism.

No one is more keenly alive to the possible threat of foreign aggression than Ras Tafari himself. Under the treaty of 1906, France, Great Britain and Italy agreed that it was to their common interest "to maintain intact the integrity of Ethiopia." Nevertheless, this treaty recognized certain defined spheres of influence. The interests were recognized of Great Britain and Egypt in the Nile basin, those of Italy in Abyssinian territory bordering upon Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, and those of France in the zone of French Somaliland and the railway from Jibuti to Addis Ababa. Notwithstanding the pledges about the integrity of Ethiopia, this agreement seemed to point the way to a division of Abyssinia by these three powers into three well-defined spheres of influence. Abyssinia regarded with a good deal of suspicion the efforts of France, Great Britain and Italy.

The publication in 1926 of the substance of an agreement between Great Britain and Italy in regard to Lake Tsana created even greater alarm. In this agreement Great Britain promised to support Italy in her claim for a concession to build a railway connecting

Abyssinia with Eritrea, in return for which Italy agreed to support the demand of Great Britain for a concession to conserve the waters of Lake Tsana, near the source of the Blue Nile. Abyssinia was a member of the League of Nations, and in a circular letter to the member States, Ras Tafari took Great Britain and Italy severely to task and charged that in making this agreement for mutual support these two governments were trying to exert pressure on Abyssinia in order to secure their ends.

"The people of Abyssinia," wrote the Prince Regent, "are anxious to do right, and we have every intention of guiding them along the path of improvement and progress; but throughout their history they have seldom met foreigners who did not desire to possess themselves of Abyssinian territory and to destroy their independence. With God's help, and thanks to the courage of our soldiers, we have always, come what might, stood proud and free upon our native mountains. For this reason prudence is needed when we have to convince our people that foreigners who wish to establish themselves for economic reasons in our country or on the frontiers between it and their possessions are genuinely innocent of concealed political aims; and we doubt whether agreements and joint representations such as those now in question are the best means of instilling that conviction. Nor must it be forgotten that we have only recently been introduced to modern civilization, and that our history, glorious

though it be, has not prepared us for ready adjustment to conditions which are often quite beyond the range of our experience. Nature herself has never gone forward by sudden bounds, and no country has been metamorphosed in a night. With our well-known eagerness for progress, given time and the friendly advice of countries whose geographical position has enabled them to outdistance us in the race, we shall be able to secure gradual but continual improvements which will make Abyssinia great in the future as she has been in the past. But, if we try to go too fast, accidents may happen."

This was a notable document, in which Ras Tafari laid bare the soul and aspirations of his people.

Great Britain has yet to obtain the concession she wants at Lake Tsana,



Ewing Galloway

RAS TAFARI AND HIS FAMILY

and here the United States enters the picture. The headwaters of the Blue Nile rise in the Gojjam highlands, 7,000 feet above sea level, and soon thereafter enter Lake Tsana, which has an altitude of 6,000 feet, an area of 1,350 square miles, and in places a depth of 60 fathoms. Pursuing a winding course, the river receives many tributaries, and as it reaches the plains its course naturally becomes more sluggish. The Blue Nile washes down from the volcanic plateau of its headwaters region the fine reddish-brown mud, which, mixed with the organic matter which the White Nile brings down, does more than any manure for the yearly renovation of the soil of Egypt. For Egypt it is essential that the waters of the Blue Nile be not diverted. Lake Tsana is, therefore, of great importance to Egypt. Under the terms of a treaty negotiated in 1902 between Great Britain and Abyssinia, King Menelik "undertook not to construct, or allow to be constructed, any work across the Blue Nile, Lake Tsana or the Sobat, which would arrest the flow of their waters into the Nile, except in agreement with his Britannic Majesty's Government and the government of the Sudan.

Years of effort and a great investment of money lie behind the present Nile irrigation system. Great Britain cannot afford to permit a foreign power to control the headwaters of the Nile, for, if a barrage is built here, it will be one of the key positions in the whole Nile irrigation system, upon which the very life blood of the Egyptian people depends. Hence Great Britain's insistence that she exercise a veto power over the construction of a dam at Lake Tsana, if the Abyssinian Government refuses to grant the concession to the British. The British proposal calls for a dam at Lake Tsana, with the construction of a motor road from Lake Tsana to the Sudan.

The Abyssinian Government so far has refused to give the contract to build the dam to Great Britain. Several reasons lie behind its refusal. One is the objection of the Church, on the ground that the waters of the Blue Nile

are sacred and should not be tampered with. This objection, however, would apply to any tinkering with the river, whether by Abyssinians or foreigners. King Tafari, however, has a more serious objection. He feels that the British proposal not only would give Great Britain a foothold in his country, which might later lead to political control, but he feels also that the proposed motor road to the Sudan would cause that part of Abyssinia to look toward Egypt and the Sudan rather than to Addis Ababa and other centres of national life. As the Ras sees it, such a project might threaten the unity of the nation.

Here Ras Tafari thought of America. Three years ago he sent to the United States Dr. Charles Martin, a veteran adviser of the Abyssinian Government, a medical man adopted and brought up by an English officer in the Indian Army, who took part in the expedition which Sir Robert Napier led into Abyssinia in 1868. Unlike most of his educated countrymen, who speak French rather than English, Dr. Martin speaks English as "to the manner born." Educated in England, he has the accent of a cultivated Englishman. He came here as the personal representative of Ras Tafari, and, with his knowledge of English, was able to talk freely with former President Coolidge. "Ethiopia, after thousands of years of independence," he told Mr. Coolidge, "and a thousand years of undisturbed slumber, wakes up to find herself in a world of energy employed in great activities in all spheres of human endeavor. Our people desire to take the place in this modern world which their history and traditions entitle them to hold, but the achievement of this desire entails the solution of many difficult and complicated problems."

The main purpose of Dr. Martin's visit to the United States was to urge the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Abyssinia. A secondary purpose was to interest American engineers in the Tsana dam project. His mission was successful, for he was able to interest a well and internationally known American firm, the J. G.



Ewing Galloway

High priests of the Christian Church of Abyssinia, whose head, Ras Tafari, claims to be a direct descendant of King Solomon

White Engineering Company, in the feasibility of obtaining the contract. The road and dam will cost about \$15,000,000. The road will extend from Addis Ababa, the terminus of the railway, to the coast and will open up some of the richest provinces of the country. A road from Tsana to the capital, from the Abyssinian point of view, would be much better than a road to the Sudan. Under the plan as tentatively discussed the \$15,000,000 would be raised through a bond issue from American and other bankers. The construction company would do the work on a cost plus basis. If the agreement of the British Government is secured, the project would pay for itself in the long run through a tax imposed by the Abyssinian Government on every cubic meter of water delivered into Egypt or the Sudan at low water. The British Government has yet to decide whether it will exercise the veto power it possesses under the treaty to prevent construction by the American company of the dam, which bears so vitally on the interests of the Nile Val-

ley. British opposition has been based on the view that it is not sound policy that one element in the irrigation system be left out of Anglo-Egyptian hands. This view may ultimately prevail in the British Foreign Office.

In this, as in other similar instances, the American Minister Resident has been expected, so far as he can do so, to help advance legitimate American business interests. Promotion of American interests in Abyssinia, one of the most important of the undeveloped markets in Africa, is the principal reason why the State Department wished to re-establish diplomatic relations with that country. Our trade and other interests at the present time are comparatively unimportant. Yet they are increasing, and they will probably continue to increase. Formerly we supplied most of the cotton sheeting, an important article of trade in Ethiopia, but lately Japanese cotton piecegoods have replaced the American product. Sewing machines, motor cars, kerosene, phonographs, toilet articles, typewriters and a few agricultural implements of

American manufacture may be seen in the larger cities. As the purchasing power of the people increases, as it is almost sure to, our trade opportunity will grow. So that we may share later in the expanding trade of Abyssinia, Washington officials believe it is important that we "get in on the ground floor." Hence the need now for American representation. From this part of Africa, too, we want political reports, reports which only a diplomatic or consular officer can make to Washington. The place to study Anglo-Egyptian relations is in Cairo, not London, and by the same token the place to secure information about political and other developments in Abyssinia is at Addis Ababa. This is in line with the policy of the State Department to establish listening posts at the lesser, as well as the more important, foreign nerve centres.

Lack of representation has at times proved embarrassing as well as a handicap to American business interests. The British Legation and Consulates have taken care of American business men and other visitors in the absence of our own representatives. This at times has proved somewhat of a burden. A case in point may be cited. Two or three years ago an American mining man died at Dire Darwa. His death left the business of his company without a head, and he also had some personal property. The British Minister had to supervise the inventory of his effects and carry on the concession at Dire Darwa. This took time and trouble, nor was it an isolated case. Hereafter, American foreign service officers will look out for American interests.

Abyssinia has many obstacles to overcome before it can effectively develop its natural resources. Transportation is poor and the country is economically backward. Foreign powers occupy all its natural seacoast. Banking facilities are found only in the principal centres; currency is limited, and traders have to carry Maria Theresa dollars in their caravans with them when they wish to do business in the outlying parts of the country. The League of Nations made abolition of the slave trade one of the conditions of membership in the League, and it has not proved altogether an easy matter to meet these conditions. Nor is Abyssinia entirely free from the fear of foreign aggression. In 1928 Italy and Abyssinia signed a treaty of commerce and amity, so that King Tafari does not seem to have anything to fear from that quarter.

The country is a rich one potentially. It needs foreign help in its development, and through his emissary Ras Tafari told President Coolidge that he wanted American teachers, physicians, engineers, technical experts and skilled artisans to help develop his country. An American mission, under Dr. Arthur Millspaugh, not long ago brought Persia out of the financial wilderness and into the happy land of balanced budgets and surpluses. Americans are in high favor in Abyssinia, and we may play an even greater part in developing Abyssinia and in bringing it out of its isolation of the past. The re-establishment by the United States of diplomatic relations with this independent kingdom of Africa brings us nearer to Ras Tafari and his efforts to build a modern State.

Leguia, the Maker of Present-Day Peru

By IGNATIUS PHAYRE

THE PART played by President Augusto B. Leguia in the healing of the fifty-year-old feud between his country and Chile over the "lost provinces" of Tacna and Arica may be said to be his most brilliant contribution to statesmanship up to the present time.

Leguia has long been a portent of progress in a little-known continent, where Great Britain and the United States have already invested some \$10,000,000,000. Apart from competitive markets of fast-increasing value, this enormous region is by far the richest potential source of raw materials. A single republic (Brazil) is as large as Europe; Argentina's area equals that of Britain's Indian Empire. But the war of 1879—Chile against Peru and Bolivia—left political wounds on the west coast of South America which troubled the body politic for half a century, influencing armaments and exacerbating frontier questions, from Ecuador down to the Gran Chaco.

When war was declared, Peru was helpless. She had only 2,000 regular troops. Of her two cruisers, the boilers of the *Independencia* were on land, the ship itself a rusty pontoon. The *Huscar* had no guns; her conning tower had long been used as a pigeon loft. The batteries of Callao were empty. For three years the invader's flag floated over Pizarro's Palace in Lima, that "City of the Kings" which the swineherd-Marqués laid out in 1535; 25 cents will give you a sight of the famous Conquistador's bones in the huge cathedral over the way, which he also built in the palmy Plaza de Armas.

Chile imposed an indemnity of \$100,000,000 and held three Peruvian provinces in pawn for the payment. As for Peru's feeble ally, Bolivia (herself six times Great Britain's area), she was cut off completely from the coast, and has since been marooned on her

Andean perches. After the war, Peru slid into ruin. In 1890 the Peruvian Corporation of London took over the bankrupt assets (railways, guano and other concessions) of a historic empire eight times the size of Great Britain—the all-but-mythical El Dorado of sixteenth century Spain, whose forty Viceroy's lorded it in Lima to ship home treasures untold.

For a whole generation the "lost provinces" poisoned politics on the west coast. There were no diplomatic relations between Peru and Chile. Poets, novelists, politicians and the press, all fed the flames of hatred. Time and again American Presidents tried to bridge the gulf. The reports of General Hurlbut from Lima to Garfield and Blaine were oddly echoed decades later from the Velasquez barracks in Arica, whence Pershing and Lassiter sent news of a hopeless tangle to the State Department. So tense were relations that the Peruvian delegate, Señor de Freyre y Santander (now Minister in London), lived afloat in the transport *Ucayali* with his colleague, Don Alberto Salamon, and their secretariat.

All mediation failed; the cost was great and the aftermath deplorable. It was then that Leguia himself took a hand, paving the way with frank adroitness, having sensed a complete change in the political atmosphere. To Santiago he sent his Foreign Minister, Don César Elguera, a typical hidalgo of forceful charm, to declare that "the hour of common sense has struck," and show cause for a definitive agreement. It was a bold throw; but Leguia's luck held, and he regains the most valued area in dispute. "Let us not fence with the matter," he said last year to Rafael Maluenda of the Santiago *Mercurio*, who hinted that "mutual interests" might unite the two sundered peoples: "Our reconciliation does not depend on economic factors but on a simple act of

justice and right." It must be said that Chile met Leguia's envoy in a generous spirit, herself aware of martial power and of industrial developments on a great scale.

As a lad of 18 Sergeant Leguia, as he then was, had fought in the war. His post was in the redoubts of Miraflores, now a lovely suburb of Lima, with broad speedways lined with opulent villas and shaded with exotic trees. The shame of Peru's long misrule was burned into him in blood and fire—"that orgiastic fair" (as he calls it) "in which traitors tugged at the motherland's vesture until she was all but bare!"

"I have seen war," Leguia told me in the Casa Pizarro, where he relaxes only at midnight. "If I were Goya I could paint its disasters. But all bitterness is gone; the down-stream water will turn no man's mill. So let us get to work; there is everything to do. At least we may lay foundations, as monks of the Middle Ages did who dreamed of soaring pinnacles and spires which their eyes would never see, yet which would be their pious glory."

Leguia's English is perfect, thanks to his exile in London. Austere in speech, he has for his motto, "Deeds, not words!" His Spanish sermons, at once beautiful and blunt, are full of burning zeal and fearless home-thrusts at all the foibles and defects of his people. "I utter no smooth things," he warns suitors of all sorts, "imbued as I am—soaked through and stung—with the crying needs of a Peru which old Humboldt saw as a 'beggar seated on a bench of gold.'" This ruler's career allures American editors by reason of its "color," though he himself dislikes to speak of the lurid aspects.

How came this courtly little Basque to transform the old Inca Empire into the ultra-modern State which so amazes visitors? It is a story of courage and character. In 1903 Augusto Leguia was a busy insurance man of 40, a valued agent of the New York Life, loathing politics. Peru was already the "private property" of a few

Creole families who set up dummy governments as they pleased. There were no budgets. Casual Ministers carried "more or less" figures in their head, and robbery was on an epic scale. Thus, out of \$250,000,000 dug out of the bird-rocks of a rainless coast, only a fraction went to the State, for concessionaires shipped vastly more tonnage of the guano than they declared.

Human life in Peru was cheap. The entry of one prancing General into Pizarro's "Haunted House" left 5,000 corpses in Lima's streets. Even Presidents came to bloody ends. Manuel Pardo was slain on the Senate steps. José Balta had such a craze for "railways to the moon" (the Central of Peru reaches 16,000 feet), that he also was murdered, after wasting \$200,000,000 in four years.

It was into this Augean stable that President Cándamo called Leguia in 1903 as Chancellor of an empty Exchequer. He declined the position; so urgent cables were sent to New York and London to break his contracts "for the sake of Peru." In this way did a frail-appearing Hercules take hold of a broom which was to menace his own life a dozen times. Here are the milestones of Peru's redemption:

1909—Leguia dragged out of his palace by gunmen and mobbed in the streets for hours. "Sign this [his resignation] or you die!" He declines: "I know my duty. A dead President you may take hence. But no ex-President shall walk away alive!" A last-moment rescue by his own household cavalry ends this act.

1912—Retiring into private life, Leguia is assailed by hired thugs of the "civil oligarchy."

1913—Furious siege of Leguia's home in the Calle de Pando. Leguia and his sons on the roof, doing all the killing. "Rescued" at last, and thrown into jail as a "disturber of the peace."

1913—Hurried by night to the ocean, and there cast adrift in the guano-tug Penguin, Leguia reaches Panama after a weird Odyssey, with the boat running

for shelter into the bird rocks of the stormy way.

1914-18—In London, at 28 Holland Park, Leguia also has an office in the City and is made president of the Latin-American Chamber of Commerce.

1919—A "call" from afflicted Peru. Leguia hesitates, knowing "the defective political education of my people."

1919—Leguia returns to receive a Bolivar-welcome in every post, from Paita down to Callao. He finds an empty palace and an empty Treasury, and hears of "Red" events under President Benavides. The Peruvian Congress is invaded by the army, and Deputies are shot down as they take their seats.

1921—Revolutions in the North and South; both of them crushed.

1921—Incendiary bombs in the Casa Pizarra, just as thirty foreign missions (Great Britain's under Lord Dundonald; France's under Mangin of Verdun) are due to arrive for the centenary celebrations.

With those flames (which Leguia fought in person) opposition petered out. Ever since Leguia's uncanny luck, together with his dynamic power and vision, his sense of humor and knowledge of men have all combined in an uplift, whose salutary effects have borne fruit far beyond Peru's frontiers. The "lost provinces" Leguia left to the last, out of deference to the United States whose genius he greatly admires.

"We have no enemy now but nature," he says, speaking of the three Perus—an arid coast, then an Andean world up to 23,000 feet, and beyond that a tropical Amazonica, with its mighty rivers like the Marañon, Ucayali, Putumayo and Madre de Dios. Here communications are the problem. To reach Iquitos, in the far-eastern region, a merchant of Lima had to circumnavigate the continent by way of Panama and Brazil, and thence up the Amazon from Pará for another 2,500 miles. Leguia is changing all that, with new railways (paid for by a tax on tobac-



AUGUSTO B. LEGUIA
A cartoon by Maribona

co), river steamers and air services, like those which link Bogotá, in Colombia, with the two oceans.

The old postoffice (where polite clerks filed your telegram for delivery by coasting steamers) Leguia handed over to Marconi's, for the people's benefit, and that of the national revenue, too. In his endless Sierras he instituted a system of voluntary labor for the hewing of roads. To this work his 3,000,000 Indians gave hearty response. Roads broke up the isolation and misery of these hardy folk. Leguia is their Lincoln. He has freed them from the peonage which had been theirs ever since Pizarro strangled their young emperor in Cajamarca, after the last of the Incas had offered his faithless captor \$17,500,000 as the price of his life.

So automobiles and motor trucks are fast ousting the caravans of belled and dainty llamas which, from pre-historic times, have swayed along dizzy preci-

pice trails with loads of shining ore and coca-leaves. For public works Leguia has set aside \$250,000,000. This includes the sanitation of fifty-two cities. In agriculture \$350,000,000 is invested. Mineral production shows a huge increase; petroleum alone is up by 552 per cent in eight years. An important British concern, the Lobitos Oilfields, Limited, has earned dividends of 50 per cent and 70 per cent; and a single American company, the Cerro de Pasco, has \$50,000,000 sunk in Incaic shafts at 15,000 feet, to win copper in enormous quantities. Lastly, Peru's exports have risen 151 per cent since Leguia's return; in the same period the nation's revenue has gone up 122 per cent. The Peruvian pound, nominally worth \$4.86, is stabilized at \$4. Immigration is in full swing, with Italian, Spanish and Polish families settling in all parts, even the Oriente.

Meanwhile Leguia has searched the



Leguia during his first term as President

world for technicians—American officers for the navy (both fluvial and marine), and for civil and military air services; a French General for the army; a German town planner for Greater Lima; a British veterinary expert to stock the uplands with fine breeds of sheep, instead of the scrub stock. Charles W. Sutton of the United States Reclamation Service is in charge of irrigation works costing millions; this is partly paid for by a tax on matches.

As for the arts, where but in Peru will you find a Maecenas who could call a national holiday to crown his laureate (José Santos Chocano) with golden bays in high Roman style? At the same time Leguia handed that lucky bard a check for \$28,000 for an epic on the Battle of Ayacucho, which saw the power of Spain go down forever in these daughter nations.

Leguia is all for education. But it must not be of the windy Iberian sort, "turning out dreamers, babblers and 'white collars,' while this land cries aloud for trained men of action." For this reason the President closed for a time the old University of San Marcos, which was a seat of learning when New York City was a Dutch fishing village.

One night in the palace I mentioned his alleged Dictatorship. "A firm hand there must be," he said, "if we are to progress at all. Do you not see it at Rome and Madrid; in Warsaw, Belgrade and Angora? And the British Minister of Health in London—what of his firm hand on the abuses and scandals of public money in the borough of West Ham? Has not American 'ministry' brought sounder 'health' to Haiti, Santo Domingo and the Philippines? Judge me also by results attained. We must move, not by leaps, but by prudent creeping, with the voice of prudence in attentive ears." Both Washington and Bolivar, he reminded me, were first offered crowns and then abused, denounced as Dictators. "I would have the world know," he went on (in the very room whence the assassins dragged him in 1909) "that Peru and her sisters are in tune with



Ewing Galloway

The Presidential Palace and Government Building, Lima, Peru

the times. All around me I sense the hum and thrill of a new hive-spirit, arming and kindling us to tireless labor as our sole salvation after four centuries of lethargy and ignorance."

At 67, Peru's "Little Inca" (as he is called by the Indians who throng his ante-rooms in vivid ponchos and stiff saucer hats), still works fifteen hours a day, only resting on the Sunday race course, where he runs his own horses. Faultlessly dressed, soft-voiced and terribly plain-spoken, Leguia has an uncanny flair for men's character, a trait derived from his mother, Doña Carmén. He has no patience with mere talk of the make-believe that gets nothing done. Nor does eulogy blind him to his own limitations. He will confess to many a political error with a wistful jest. "After all," I heard him tell a Tacna-Arica delegation in the Hall of Audience, "the effort of one man can effect but little that endures in a nation's life howsoever devoted

his patriot-passion may be. No, gentlemen, it is the collective will and purpose of a whole people in full sail which can alone attain the ideal."

Such is the ruler who has helped to solve the "Problem of the Pacific." Another problem was the contract he concluded with General A. S. Cooper (of the Peruvian Corporation in Lima) ceding the railways in perpetuity, on terms advantageous to all parties.

Thus the west coast of South America is at last clear of its most perilous snag; Peru and Chile are reunited for the commonweal. Leguia's task is not yet complete, though its stimulus has been felt from the Caribbean and the Mexican border down to the shadowy Gran Chaco of Bolivia and Paraguay. "I shall not see this nation's fullness," he said to Congress in a recent message, "but to the end I carry the vision of a new Peru—a power that blots out the past and sails out of eclipse to light the two Americas."

Rediscovering Alaska From the Air

By ANDREW R. BOONE

NEW LAKES, hitherto unreported, which add materially to the water-power resources of Alaska; routes for new roads to facilitate removal of ore, and accurate information not only of forest areas, but (and equally important) information of denuded areas within the Tongass National Forest have been brought under the scrutiny of government scientific and economic representatives through the efforts of the 1929 Alaska Aerial Survey Detachment. Between April and September four airplanes mapped 13,000 square miles of Southeastern Alaska and made several discoveries of importance not only to Alaska but to industries within the United States boundaries. Among them is the revelation that the Tongass, alone, can supply one-third of the required newsprint for the United States in perpetuity.

Several government departments cooperated in the financing and facilitating of the work of the survey. The Navy Department furnished floating and flying equipment and personnel, commanded by Lieut. Commander A. W. Radford. Apart from the regular navy allowances, \$15,000 was provided by the Departments of Agriculture and Interior. R. H. Sargent, topographic engineer for the United States Geological Survey, represented these departments during progress of the survey.

Early in 1929 the Navy Department approved the request of the Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior for completion of the survey, which had been begun in 1926. Preparations for assembling personnel and material were commenced in February. The covered barge that had been used for living quarters, photographic laboratory and offices by the 1926 expedi-

tion was reconditioned at the Puget Sound Navy Yard. The U. S. S. Gannet was assigned as an aircraft tender. Four Loening amphibian airplanes powered by 450-horsepower air-cooled Wasp engines were furnished by the navy. Personnel of the detachment was composed of 11 officers and 101 men. The aviators flew 677.40 hours and covered 54,182 miles. No plane suffered a forced landing during mapping runs.

The photographic results of the 1929 expedition were 42 rolls of tri-lens and 10 rolls of fourth-lens mapping film. Each mapping camera carried four lenses. One "shot" vertically, two outward at 35-degree angles from the line of flight and the fourth forward at that angle. The films have been delivered to the Geological Survey, where they are filed for future use. Not within ten years, it is estimated, will all be correlated. In addition to them, the negatives of 467 oblique photographs were given to the Forest Service office at Juneau and a set of prints furnished to the Geological Survey at Washington. A special mosaic map of the Juneau waterfront, made from an altitude of 3,000 feet, was delivered to army engineers at Juneau.

One of the most valuable uses of the photographs already has accrued to the Forest Service in its study of Alaskan timber resources. The development of the pulp-wood resources in Southeastern Alaska is being stressed by the Forest Service, and active investigations are now being made toward construction of possibly two pulp and paper mills. Furthermore, a Senate resolution was adopted on Feb. 15 requesting the Secretaries of the Interior and Commerce to furnish all available information concerning the supply of wood pulp in Alaska. This action was taken as a result of the need by our

papers of pulp and of the information that the Canadian newsprint manufacturers had combined to fix the prices of newsprint paper.

The mapping film furnished to the Bureau of Public Roads accurate and detailed data on routes for highways and minor roads. One concrete instance of this is the selection of a route for a roadway from tidewater up the Taku River to the international boundary. Discovery and subsequent development of valuable ore deposits along the valleys of the Taku and Tullsaukway Rivers have made it imperative to build such a road, and a study of mapping prints greatly facilitated the survey.

The discovery of heretofore unreported lakes and water-power resources has been one of the most valuable results of these aerial surveys. A lake later named Lake Grace was discovered near Ketchikan in 1926 and proved to be of great value, for it was the key to the power-water development of Revil-lagidedo Island, as it was capable of developing 10,000 horsepower required to complete a pulp mill for this locality.

During the 1929 expedition several previously unreported lakes and very valuable water-power sites were discovered and photographed. One of these was by far the most spectacular of the entire expedition. The building of a pulp mill in the vicinity of Juneau was contemplated, and the survey of the water-power resources had just been completed. The lakes to be used were Lone (Welker), Crater and Speel. This plan necessitated building about forty miles of high-tension line at very large expense and at great physical outlay. Upkeep of the line would have been costly; leakage would have been great, and the line would

have been constantly endangered by landslides.

While flying over the area adjacent to Taku Inlet, Commander Radford viewed a large lake high in the mountains which he reported on his return to base. By subsequent investigations, this lake proved available as a water-power asset, and it is believed that by utilizing it in conjunction with Turner Lake near at hand, a sufficient amount of power will be secured to warrant abandonment of the Speel River project for the present at least, with an immediate saving of \$600,000. Such discoveries justify the cost of the expeditions many times over. It is estimated that water-power resources aggregating no less than 100,000 year-round horsepower will be located from the photographs.

Practically, every large glacier of the territory was photographed by the tri-lens cameras. Among the interesting revelations from the photographs is that reforestation is taking place in the wake of some retreating glaciers. In the vicinity of Glacier Bay several pictures were taken of such an area.



Map of Alaska showing the territory recently surveyed from the air

In Alaska climatic conditions are almost at their worst; hence topographic mapping is slow, arduous and costly, not only because of the inclement weather but also because of the heavy blanket of timber and almost impenetrable underbrush. Accurate topographic mapping by the ground method is virtually impossible except at excessive costs. By such methods the topography of shore lines and mountain ridges can be established with comparative ease, but accurate discovery and mapping of valley bottoms with the many lakes and winding streams is prohibitive. For this purpose especially, the aerial photographs are invaluable and will help make the maps of the islands and mainland much more accurate and possible of accomplishment in less time.

The four planes were named after Alaskan cities which were to be used as operating bases. Plane No. 1, flown by Commander Radford, was named the Juneau; No. 2, piloted by Lieutenant E. F. Burkett, the Ketchikan; No. 3, piloted by Lieutenant R. F. Whitehead, photographic officer, the Petersburg, and No. 4, flown by Lieutenant C. F. Greber, the Sitka. The

insignia adopted showed a winged seal against a background of an active volcano and the midnight sun. Before departing from San Diego the expedition had obtained permission from the Canadian Government for the four planes to fly over Canadian territory and use Canadian Government radio stations for transmitting movement reports and obtaining necessary weather data.

The aviators mapped the southern half of Baranof Island, and Kuiu, Coronation and Warren Islands. From Juneau, the islands of Chichagof, Kruzof, Yakobi and the northern half of Baranof were completed. After accomplishing this in two months the expedition moved to Ketchikan, from which point sections of the mainland, between Behm Canal and Portland Canal, and a few scattered areas north along Stephens Passage were mapped.

Throughout their stay in Alaska, the aviators were forced to operate under adverse conditions. Rain fell so steadily that only eighteen days in four months were available for mapping flights, and, as the Summer passed, the time during each day when the light was strong enough decreased from 8 A. M.-4 P. M. to 11 A. M.-1 P. M. At times,



The planes used by the Aerial Survey Detachment in mapping Alaska



The U. S. S. Gannet, a navy barge and three planes at the government dock at Juneau, Alaska

also, pilots and photographers operated in a temperature below zero.

The method of conducting a mapping run was as follows: Flight lines $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles apart were drawn on a chart showing the coast line of the area to be mapped, data required from the completed pictures being details of lakes, rivers and mountains. Each mapping plane, with one aviator as pilot

and another as navigator, with an enlisted photographer handling the cameras, would follow these flight lines at an altitude of 10,900 feet. Photographs were taken through the bottom of the plane at a scale of 1-20,000. On account of the intense cold, trouble with shutters and other moving parts frequently developed. Several times the film became so brittle it broke.

Shift of Population as Affected by Industry

By MERLO J. PUSEY

THE PROCESS of peopling the United States has been a general western movement, interrupted now and then by various economic influences. No sooner were the thirteen original States welded together in the American Union than their inhabitants began the westward trek across the Alleghanies, and before the middle of the nineteenth century caravans were covering the full distance between the inhabited States and the Pacific Coast. That movement has continued down to the present time and would doubtless still be a prime factor in the shifting of population were it not for a revolutionary change that has come over the nation since the beginning of the present century. Today a backsweeping movement toward the east may be noted in some sections. Migration is no longer universally westward, but toward the commercial and industrial cities, wherever they are located.

Population flows in the general direction of the greatest economic opportunities. Once it was new land that lured settlers to the expansive open spaces of the West; now the country is producing more agricultural products than it needs, and the industrial centres are draining the rural sections of their surplus man-power at an astonishing rate. The result is a migration toward the seacoasts and to those States possessing waterways combined with natural resources, which make manufacturing on a large scale possible. All the States which have made recent large gains in population are so situated. Every fluctuation of census figures in the past twenty years conclusively proves that America has been rapidly becoming industrialized.

It is known that the cities are growing at the expense of the rural sections, but the extent of the movement is not generally realized. Not until Congress undertook in 1929 to bring about a reapportionment in the House of Representatives did the country recognize what a vast change has taken place since the last distribution of seats. The reapportionment measure bears witness to our economic evolution. Every loss and every gain of a Congressman represents the transition from an agricultural to an industrial commonwealth.

When the United States became a nation the centre of population was about twenty miles east of Baltimore. A hundred years later this mathematical centre had shifted to a point some miles west of Cincinnati, and in 1920 it lay in Owen County, Ind. This represents a western movement averaging forty-six miles every ten years until 1910. From that year to 1920 the centre of population moved less than ten miles to the west, and it is likely that figures for the present decade will show still further decline. Southern California is the only section of the West that has shown unusual growth in the past few years, and its gains have not been greater than the development of some Eastern cities.

Less than forty years ago the rural population of the United States was almost twice as large as the urban. In 1910, when the last reapportionment of Congressmen was made, the rural population of 49,806,146 still exceeded the city dwellers by more than 7,000,000. Since that time nearly 30,000,000 people have been added into the census. Only a fraction of the increase can be credited to the agricultural districts. No exact figures will be available until

after the 1930 census, but a rough estimate places the urban population at 60 per cent of our 120,000,000 people.

Only ten States will maintain their present representation when the reapportionment is made. Seventeen will lose one or more Congressmen, and eleven will gain. All the losers are east of the western boundary of Nebraska, and yet only three of the Western States will receive greater representation. This means that the Western States, with the exception of California, Washington and Arizona, have maintained a steady normal growth, and that most of the actual shifting population has been in the Middle West and East.

The only large block of States whose representation will remain the same lies in the intermountain region, between the Sierra Nevadas and the Rockies. Included in the group are Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, Colorado and New Mexico, none of which are solely dependent on agriculture. Extensive mining, some manufacturing and the recently developed tourist business are outstanding reasons for the healthy growth of this region. It has not become industrialized as yet because of its sparse population and the long distances to markets; but its principal cities, of which Denver and Salt Lake City are the most important, have shown considerable industrial and commercial development.

A second group which shows normal growth, and therefore no change in Congressional representation, includes Minnesota, Wisconsin and Illinois. The two former States are still in the neighborhood of 50 per cent rural, but in Illinois upward of 70 per cent of the inhabitants live in cities. These States have been able to hold their own because their losses in agricultural population have been absorbed in their large cities. Chicago, in the past eighteen years, has added almost 1,000,000 people to its numbers. Milwaukee has grown from a city of 373,800 to 544,200 inhabitants; Minneapolis from 301,400 to 455,900, and similar growth is noted in St. Paul. South Dakota is

the only agricultural State to hold its own without an unusual flow of workers into industries, but its third representative has been saved by only a narrow margin. New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia and Oregon have maintained normal growth, but they are either semi-agricultural or industrial.

An analysis of the losing areas provides further and more convincing evidence of industrialization. The heaviest losers are the farming States of the Mississippi Valley, which produce the great staple food crops, and which, incidentally, made the strongest plea for farm relief. They include, in one block, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa and Nebraska, and in another adjacent group, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. North Dakota should also be considered in this class. The relative loss of population in these States, which contain America's finest farm lands, is a striking illustration of the current trend in industry.

Missouri, in the heart of the greatest agricultural belt in the world, is the heaviest loser in the reapportionment bill. That State must give up three out of sixteen representatives. Yet this does not mean an actual loss in population since 1910. On the other hand there has been a gain of more than 230,000 inhabitants, making the estimate for 1928 total 3,523,000. The rural loss has been heavy, but the steady growth of cities in Missouri has more than offset that decline. St. Louis shows a gain from 687,000 in 1910 to 848,000 in 1928, and Kansas City, Mo., has increased by 60 per cent.

Even those States which have suffered most from agricultural depression have been able to increase slightly their total population when they have had industrial centres in which the surplus farm workers could find employment. Indiana's loss of two representatives means that the growth in population was held down to less than 400,000 for the eighteen-year period. Nevertheless, Indianapolis, its principal city, shows a gain from 233,000 to

382,000. The same is true of Iowa and Kentucky, which are also losers of two seats each. Both Des Moines and Sioux City advanced their census figures by approximately 60 per cent, and Louisville sprang from a city of 223,900 to one of 329,400.

Only one State suffered an actual decrease in population. That is Mississippi, which obviously should lose heavily because of its lack of industrial cities. Surplus agricultural workers have migrated to other States where opportunities for employment are greater, causing a decrease from 1,797,114 in 1910 to 1,790,618 in 1929. Mississippi's largest centres are Meridian and Jackson, both of which range between 20,000 and 25,000 inhabitants, according to the last census. The State is almost entirely devoted to agriculture and kindred pursuits.

The other twelve States on the losing list of the reapportionment bill will have one less Representative. Of them North Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska and Virginia are chiefly agricultural. North Dakota has no large cities, but the chief commercial and industrial centres of the other three States have experienced the usual rapid growth, as may be indicated by Omaha's addition of nearly 100,000 people since 1910, the growth of Richmond from 127,628 to 194,400 and the phenomenal expansion of Norfolk from a city of less than 68,000 to one of more than 184,000 inhabitants.

Alabama's increase in population has not been large, but there has been a considerable migration to the rapidly developing industrial cities. Birmingham is now known as "the Pittsburgh of the South" because of its steel and iron industries, which are chiefly responsible for a population increase from 132,685 to 224,000. Montgomery has shown similar growth and Mobile is growing quite rapidly. Manufacture of cotton goods was greatly expanded in the last ten years, but the chief interest is still agriculture. In Tennessee, where occupational interests are divided between agriculture, mining and manufacturing, a similar situation

obtains. Knoxville has very greatly increased its population; Memphis has grown from 131,105 to 190,200 inhabitants; Chattanooga also has had an enormous increase. Louisiana should also be classed among the agricultural States, although industry is gaining a strong foothold. Shreveport has gained almost 60 per cent of its present population since the last reapportionment, and New Orleans has grown from 339,000 to 429,400.

The remaining States in the losing class form an interesting group of semi-agricultural or almost entirely industrial units. Among these latter are New York and Pennsylvania, the two leading States in output of manufactured goods. New York has increased its population from 9,113,614 to 11,550,000 since the 1910 census, but the rural districts have not kept pace with the cities. New York City alone has grown from 4,766,800 to more than 6,000,000, and proportionate gains are registered from Buffalo, Rochester and a half dozen other large cities. The general rule of urban development is again reflected by an increase of more than 500,000 for Philadelphia, more than 140,000 for Pittsburgh and large gains for Scranton and other industrial centres.

Maine and Vermont lose because their geographical location makes them less susceptible to industrialization, but the situation in the highly urbanized State of Massachusetts is quite different. Nearly 95 per cent of the people of Massachusetts live in cities. The manufacture of cotton goods has been the chief industry there, and now that mills are being established in the regions of cotton production, the textile manufacturers of New England necessarily suffer.

The industrialization of the South is one of the most interesting phases of the new economic era. Heretofore the Southern States have been almost exclusively agricultural, conversion of their cotton into cloth having been left to the factories of New England. Now that the Southerners have decided to ship finished cloth as well as cotton to

the North, many adjustments will have to be made. The loss in Massachusetts is reflected in the gain of North Carolina, which has jumped to second place in the manufacture of cotton goods. With such a turn of events, it is natural to expect rapid growth of North Carolina cities, and that is just what the records show. Since 1910 Winston has increased its population almost 400 per cent and Charlotte from 34,014 to more than 82,000. There are still no large cities in North Carolina, but many of its communities are rapidly becoming urbanized.

Every State which gains under the reapportionment bill, except one, is on the international boundary line. All, except Arizona and Oklahoma, are on the seacoast or the Great Lakes, and thus have water transportation. During the last century the American people spread out over the land; in the present century they are collecting in great numbers on the shores of large bodies of water, which give greater advantages in transportation and, therefore, in commerce.

Beginning at the northwest corner of the United States and swinging around to the South and East, we find that Washington and California, which occupy a large percentage of the Pacific Coast; Texas and Florida, which include much of the coast line in the Gulf of Mexico; North Carolina, New Jersey and Connecticut, which occupy considerable frontage on the Atlantic, and Ohio and Michigan, which border on the Great Lakes, are the States which have made the greatest relative gains in urban population.

California has made the most remarkable gain of all, and as a result its representation in Congress will jump from eleven to seventeen. This indicates an increase of almost 100 per cent in population since 1910, the estimate for 1928 being more than 4,550,000. Because of its great diversity of crops and its favorable climate, agriculture in California has prospered more than in most States during recent years. At the same time industry has been developing; production and re-

finement of oil have reached huge proportions; the tourist trade has flourished as never before and such industries as motion-picture production have taken thousands of people to California.

Los Angeles has increased its population from 319,198 in 1910 to 1,500,000, and now boasts of being the largest city, in area, in the United States. San Francisco, Oakland and other large cities have experienced healthy growth, though not on such a large scale. Considerably more than 70 per cent of the population is urban.

Development of Arizona is closely connected with the growth of Southern California. The State has more than doubled its population in the past eighteen years, but yet has only 474,000 souls. Phoenix and Tucson, the two leading cities, have made large gains.

Turning to Washington, a State which is still almost 50 per cent rural, we see that the gains made by its cities are sufficient to include it in the list of winners. Seattle alone has added approximately 150,000 inhabitants to take care of its ever-increasing commerce.

An industry very closely allied to the development of machinery has played an important part in the growth of three Southwestern States. The demands of industry and the multiplication of automobiles has brought about phenomenal development of the oil industry in the United States, and 80 per cent of our crude oil supply comes from Oklahoma, Texas and California. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Tulsa springing from a town of 18,182 in 1910 to a city of 170,500, and Oklahoma City swelling its population of 64,000 to more than 160,000 in eighteen years.

Texas is generally known as a great agricultural and live stock raising State, but its increase of 1,600,000 people since the last allocation of Congressional seats has gone principally to its cities. Dallas has risen from a city of 90,000 to one of more than 217,800. Houston which ranked third in size in 1910, is now the largest Texas city with a population of more than 275,000. Fort Worth climbed from 73,300 to 170,000,

and San Antonio from 96,600 to 213,100. These gains entitle Texas to two new seats in the House.

In spite of the Florida boom of recent years, that State gains but one new seat, representing an increase from 752,000 to 1,411,000 people. The village of Miami with 5,471 inhabitants in 1910 is now the largest city of that State, having a population of 156,700. Tampa has grown from 37,000 to 113,400, and Jacksonville from 57,600 to some 140,700. As these figures indicate, the largest gains have been made by resort cities where millions of dollars are spent by Winter tourists.

Gains of two seats in New Jersey and one in Connecticut still further confirm the general truth that population is being drawn into industrial centres. Both States are highly industrialized, 78.7 per cent of the population of New Jersey being urban. In spite of its limited area, this State ranks sixth among the forty-eight in industrial output, the value of which exceeds \$3,539,000,000 annually. The population increase, totaling 1,300,000, has been distributed through its many industrial cities. Newark has grown from 347,000 to 473,600, and Jersey City from 267,700 to 324,700. The situation is similar in Connecticut. The addition of more than half a million people is reflected in the steady growth of Hartford, Bridgeport, New Haven, Waterbury and other cities.

Michigan ranks second of the gainers in the reapportionment measure, with four new seats, and Ohio is third, with three. Ohio has become the third most important State in manufacturing output, and Michigan fifth. Since New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois hold first, second and fourth places, respectively, we find the great industrial States of the country conveniently grouped about the Great Lakes and extending to the Atlantic from Chesapeake Bay to beyond Cape Cod.

Michigan is to have four new Congressmen, chiefly because it has be-

come the automobile centre for all nations, producing in 1925, for example, 3,131,524 of the 4,800,000 cars made in the entire world. Since 1910 it has developed from a State of 2,810,100 to 4,591,000. Detroit, capital of the motor world, boasts gains of approximately 300 per cent, bringing the total population to more than 1,378,000. Grand Rapids has experienced normal growth.

In adding nearly 2,100,000 persons to its urban population, Ohio has become a State dotted with industrial centres, in contrast to Indiana and Kentucky, which are among the foremost losers in the reapportionment. The two latter States have but one large city each, and are still largely agricultural. On the other hand Ohio has a number of large cities which have made remarkable gains. Cleveland's 1,010,300 people represent a gain of almost 100 per cent in the past eighteen years. Cincinnati has grown from 363,591 to more than 413,700; Toledo, from 168,000 to 313,000. The automobile tire industry is responsible for Akron's growth from 69,067 to more than 240,000. Youngstown has more than doubled its population and Dayton is 70,000 larger than in 1910.

Since every economic change comes about gradually, the flowing of people from one section to another is scarcely perceptible; yet the net result is of inestimable significance in the commercial world. New relationships in business, new needs of transportation, additional markets and shopping facilities, greater demands on public utilities and private concerns of every sort follow the influx of people into the cities. American business has already made comprehensive adjustments, and an economic structure suitable to the new order is being perfected. Commercial executives with foresight based on the transitions of the past are anticipating further industrialization, and are preparing to accommodate a much larger percentage of the population with urban conveniences.

American Prison Methods Attacked

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; CHAIRMAN,
BOARD OF CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

WHEN IN December, 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting "slavery or involuntary servitude," was declared in effect, it was supposed that not only ownership of human beings but deprivation of personal liberty had forever disappeared in this country. In general, since the Thirteenth Amendment, no court in the United States will recognize a right of property in a human being, or the use of force to obtain specific performance of a labor contract. Long since has disappeared the old-fashioned sale of slaves on the block, some of whom appeared to be as white as their auctioneers. The influence of that great constitutional act has greatly diminished the weight of slavery in the Orient, and has nearly put it out of business in Africa.

The fallacy that slave labor was an economic advantage for a community, that more money can be made out of unwilling and ignorant slave laborers than out of intelligent and educated free workers, has long since been exploded. Even the former slaveholding States are far richer and more prosperous than in the old days of slavery.

Alongside slavery, which was once legal in every part of the Federal Union, there existed from earliest Colonial times a system of bondage of poor children, of hired servants, of prisoners of war, of sailors, and especially of criminals, which had most of the handicaps of chattel slavery. The misery, degradation and horror of the Colonial prisons is also a stock theme for social historians. The common soldiers in the Continental Army were treated with a stupid savagery which would cause a modern army to turn its guns upon its officers. Everywhere in the United

States the amenities of the rod were familiar to girls and boys, in the family and in the school, until about a century ago.

Colonial and later prisons were dens of cruelty and iniquity, but slowly there came about a partial reform which acknowledged even convicts to be human beings, entitled to humane treatment. In the last two decades, however, civilization has been set back by the regular, systematic, unreported and unchecked use of torture in many of our State, county and city prisons. Torture is the right word to use. To be sure the old-fashioned thumbscrews, hot irons, and the rack are not considered good form, though other methods of torture not so bloody but equally distressing prevail.

The anti-slavery people used to say that no man was good enough to be a slaveholder; and it is certain that no man is good enough to be the warden of a prison in which torture is habitual. A whipping is torture—not so protracted nor so fatal as some other tortures, but in essence it is the breaking down of a man by the physical laceration of his nerves. American communities are habitually using the same physical methods that made the Imperial Government of Russia so detested.

It is not too severe to say that a jail sentence in many prisons is in itself a long-drawn-out torture. The recent outbreaks in the State of New York can be attributed in a considerable degree to the abominable crowding of men in the cells. Forcing prisoners to spend a third of their hours in a stone cell, 7 feet by 4 and 7 feet high, is practically compelling living men to sleep in coffins. Such conditions inflict physical torture.

Like other torturers, the responsible

officials become seared in mind, while appeals made by conscientious wardens for humane and ventilated cell-blocks attract little attention and new prisons are constantly being constructed on the old, cruel and brutalizing plans. In any case, prisoners for life are the slaves of the State, and society is responsible if they are treated to physical misery and torture.

On the face of it one would think that prisoners would be better off if hired out in gangs to private contractors, or as laborers on public works. The familiar chain gangs in Southern cities at least work in fresh air; but there is always the danger of escape unless the men are chained together like dogs on a leash. The rental of gangs of prisoners for work in Southern mines has led to abominable cruelty, in which both white and negro prisoners have been turned over to the mercies of irresponsible and cruel bosses. To give control of such prisoners to private employers is to create an unconstitutional "involuntary servitude."

Where a large percentage of the prisoners are negroes, the convicts are put into the fields of a State plantation; and the result is something rather worse than the worst plantations of the slavery epoch. Inasmuch as these men and women must work without shackles, there is always danger of escape. Hence a system of armed guards has been evolved, which is bound to result in the death of many prisoners. On one of those State-farm prisons as many as sixteen different employes or prisoners used as guards have the power to inflict, on their sole responsibility, the torture of the lash. In one such place gangs of negro convicts are (this moment) policed by other negro convicts armed with guns, who have formal instructions that if any of the gang break away he is to be shot down on the run. In case the fugitive is killed, the fellow-convict who killed him will be recommended to the Governor for a pardon—not for the killing of his comrade but for the original crime for which he was convicted.

This abominable, widespread and par-

tially legalized cruelty takes refuge in the permission of the Constitution to inflict "involuntary servitude" as a penalty for crime; but with the clear expectation that the "servitude" shall not be to a contractor or a convict guard or to a jailer, but to the State acting through responsible public authority. To sell or rent the bodies of men and women to the control of contractors and their employes is worse slavery than on the old plantation, where it was to the pecuniary interest of the planter that his property should not be lessened in value by inhuman treatment.

By Roman law and doubtless by practice in American slavery, slaves could be tortured to compel them to confess their crimes; but today under legal practice in every State of the Union no prisoner on trial can be put to the torture to compel him to confess. Imprisonment for debt is also now illegal—though thousands of persons are confined and treated as bondsmen—sometimes because they have no money to pay fines assessed on them or in contempt of court for not having the means to pay their debts. The city of New York abounds in this odious imprisonment for debt.

The common law does not authorize imprisonment or bodily violence as a means of compelling witnesses to testify. If policemen should beat or maim witnesses, use threats or repeat questions over and over again in order to break down the witness's resistance, any competent judge would instantly declare a mistrial or institute a criminal prosecution against the policeman. It is a very serious extension of involuntary servitude to use force to elicit testimony from the accused or from the witnesses. Yet the ordinary practice of hundreds of police officers, acting under instructions, is to treat with physical violence persons who have not been indicted in order to compel them to confess or even to give testimony against others. There could be no worse abuse of power devoid of responsibility.

The "third degree" is involuntary

servitude, worse than that of the worst plantations under the old slavery system because applied to free men and women. The whole system is based on the fallacious idea that people under torture will tell the truth. They will tell anything that will free their cracking nerves. In many substantiated cases, torture by fire or sharp instruments is used. A supposedly milder torture is flogging with rubber hose, the effect of which any skeptic may discover by applying it on himself.

The treatment of persons who are innocent, but who will not or cannot testify, is another phase of the "third degree." A man or woman who has influence is not likely to be molested because the perpetrators of the "third degree" will be afraid of getting themselves into trouble. Thus it is the weak, poor and friendless who are thus bullied and maimed.

A United States judge recently threw a prosecution out of court because he was convinced that the prisoner at the bar had been brutally beaten to compel him to tell a story which he later denied in court.

The existence of such a system, not only illegal but contralegal in a civi-

lized community, is a part of a general breaking down of our machinery for detecting and punishing crime. Many of the victims of the third degree are criminals; some of them guilty of the crime; nevertheless, it is contrary to the public interest to permit such methods, for a witness may quite as easily be tortured into telling a falsehood as the truth.

The defense of the police is that they are in contact with a terrific force of organized crime, that they know thousands of criminals, without being able to pin legal evidence of a specific crime on them.

Revision of the statutes would be of little use under the present system, inasmuch as this particular invasion of liberty is already contrary to all the principles of American criminal jurisprudence. What is really needed is that every man or woman who has political influence should, whenever a case of the third degree comes to his knowledge, denounce it with such an outcry that people will realize the danger to themselves and their descendants of a practice which is nothing else than a qualified type of slavery.

Discoveries of Helium

By *WATSON DAVIS*

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON

THE UNITED STATES now has a practical monopoly of helium, the non-inflammable gas which at present replaces hydrogen in American airships. Work by R. Taylor at the Chemical Research Laboratory at Teddington has shown, however, that monazite sand, the source of thorium from which gas mantles are made, is a possible source of helium. Quantities of monazite sand are available in the British Empire, especially Ceylon and Travancore, India, and there also are large deposits in the United States.

The natural gas from Texas contains about 1 per cent of helium, while the monazite sand yields about one cubic centimeter of helium to every grain of sand. This means that to fill a ship of 5,000,000 cubic feet capacity, the size of the R-100, newest of British dirigibles, 150,000 tons of sand would have to be refined. In treating the sand for the manufacture of thorium large quantities of helium have been wasted. In the process for its refinement worked out by Mr. Taylor the gas which escapes from the sand is treated with heated magnesium metal which removes most of the nitrogen, and then final treatment with heated calcium removes the rest of the nitrogen and other gaseous impurities.

By accident there has been found a source of natural gas in Southeastern Colorado said to contain 7 per cent of helium, the richest helium discovery ever made. An open flow of 3,000,000 cubic feet a day was the estimated volume of the gas flow, and the helium content is said to be 210,000 cubic feet a day. The daily production of the well would be about a quarter of its open flow.

This discovery helps to clinch the hold of the United States on the world

monopoly of the non-inflammable lifting gas, the present price of which is about \$20 per thousand cubic feet, much higher than that of hydrogen.

The discovery was made during oil drilling operations just south of the little town of Thatcher, the gas coming from a depth of about 900 feet. The American Helium Company has located a small refining plant there, along with one at Dexter, Kan. The only other plant in the world for extracting helium is the large United States Government refinery established during the World War at Amarillo, Texas.

DISCOVERIES IN EGYPT

The story of the Stone Ages of Egypt is told by K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell in a report of their explorations for the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

The sides of the Nile valley, and the side valley that constitutes the oasis of the Faiyum to the west of the lower Nile region, are marked in many places with erosional terraces. The oldest terraces were cut while the river and the branches it then had were flowing at the level of the present desert plateau. As one descends the sides of the present valley each succeeding terrace is younger than the one above it.

The four uppermost and oldest terraces bear no traces of human occupation. The fifth terrace has yielded great quantities of the two oldest types of well-worked flint implements, known to archaeologists as Chellean and Acheulian. Below this comes a sixth terrace in the Faiyum basin which was formed by a lake at that time filling most of the valley. This was the home of a race of men who made implements of the type known as Mousterian. Mousterian culture in Europe is typical of the

Neanderthal species of human beings, but no bones have been found in Egypt as yet, so that it is impossible to say what the shapers of these flints did look like.

Below the Mousterian terrace comes a series of younger lake terraces, whose flints, though presumably contemporaneous with those of the various Cro-Magnon cultures of Europe, do not resemble them in appearance. These close the Old Stone Age, and a concluding stage bridges the gap to the New Stone Age. The latter period in its turn ushered in the beginnings of the civilized Egypt of the Pharaohs.

NEW TREATMENT OF CLAY

The revolutionary hand of science is about to touch on the old crafts of the world. Through the centuries the potter has shaped his clay and then baked it. Professor Joseph B. Shaw, head of the ceramics department of Pennsylvania State College, bakes it first and then shapes it. Any clay now used in ceramics is adaptable to the process and will yield a superior product, and other materials not now used ceramically can be utilized.

Professor Shaw has adapted the principles of processing steel to clays. He heats his clay to the point of vitrification, at which point it will yield to shape under pressure. It is then rolled into the desired form or pressed into molds and finally annealed at a lower temperature to permit the development of a strong crystalline structure. Reinforced blocks with the iron rods inserted after the clay was fired and before it was shaped have been made.

The size of the article which may be made is said to be limited only by mechanical requirements, but 8 by 20 feet is about the largest size practical now.

The new method has advantages over present processes in addition to opening the field to massive ceramic pieces impossible to make at present. It can be made entirely continuous, eliminating handling the material and utilizing mechanical equipment for complete handling from clay bank to the finished

article in the stock shed. No more fuels are required than are used in present processes.

Warping and cracking, which occurred during drying and vitrification are now unnecessary because in the new process the article is not finally shaped until after drying and vitrification are completed.

AN ICE AGE RHINOCEROS

The complete body of an Ice Age rhinoceros, with muscles and skin complete and in place, has been dug out of the soil of Poland, in the district of Sarunia. The finding of so complete a specimen of the Pleistocene rhinoceros is wholly unprecedented. Rhinoceros bones are fairly common fossils in Europe, for the great animals ranged freely over the Continent during intervals between glacial advance scores of thousands of years ago. Cro-Magnon artists sketched and sculptured its likeness on the walls of their caves. But of the non-bony parts nothing had been discovered before, except a few pieces of skin. The present find was made as a result of renewed digging in a mine that had yielded the incomplete skeleton of a mammoth and the skull, foreleg and a large piece of skin from a rhinoceros, something over twenty years ago. Last year the Polish Academy of Science obtained funds for further excavation and went to work again, in spite of the fact that the old narrow pit had become dangerous due to the accumulation of oil on its sides and a tendency for poisonous gases to accumulate. The digging revealed much new material of interest in the study of prehistoric plant and animal life of the region, and at last the sensational find was made of the complete rhinoceros. Premature and unauthorized reports gained currency that the find consisted of the skeleton and a mammoth, and the scientists in charge decided to let the rumors go on, thereby avoiding interruptions in the work by crowds of uninvited guests. Confronted with the task of getting the giant animal out of the narrow pit, the committee called upon the Polish Army for man-power. Soldiers enlarged the

pit to four yards square by thirty-four yards deep, and through this new shaft the great carcass was raised to the surface. It has been taken to the Physiographic Museum of the Polish Academy of Science in Krakow. It is planned to remove the hide and make a thorough anatomical study of the muscles and other organs, after which the skeleton will be mounted and placed on display. It will be the only complete Pleistocene rhinoceros skeleton in existence.

EXPERIMENTS WITH MEATS

To find out why one leg of lamb differs from another, five of Uncle Sam's scientists have dined on 1,700 choice cuts of this particular kind of meat. The scientists of the United States Bureau of Home Economics are at work on this impressively big experiment. As the experiment now stands, 1,700 legs of lamb have been cooked, 600 rib roasts of beef and 200 cuts of fresh pork. Each piece of meat that is shipped to the government kitchens is accompanied by its career and pedigree. The papers show what the age and sex of the animal was, its breeding record, how it was fed, how much exercise it had, and other facts that might affect its meat quality. Organizations of live stock men, packers and twenty-five agricultural experiment stations are cooperating with the government in this investigation, as are the Bureau of Animal Industry and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

The experiment is conducted along the most carefully standardized lines. Each of the 1,700 legs of lamb is cooked in precisely the same way, and is taken out of the stove at the same stage as shown by a thermometer stuck into the centre of the thickest portion. When the meat is carved the same section is always cut out for judging. Men and women scientists from the agricultural bureaus act as judges, each eating off a numbered plate the same relative slice from every single cut of meat. They rate the sample on its juiciness, its tenderness, aroma, the flavor of lean and the flavor of fat, scoring each piece

on a range of seven degrees of perfection.

As a result of all this the packers will be shown that certain methods of handling their product result in increased palatability. The method of cooking used in the tests is not recommended by the bureau. But the use of a special thermometer, which can be stuck into the centre of the meat while it cooks, has proved practical. This thermometer, which shows when meat has reached the rare stage, when it is medium, and when well done, is now being manufactured commercially, as a result of the government's use of it experimentally.

UNIQUE FOR SLOW BREATHING

A physiological celebrity, a young woman physiologist who breathes only three to five times a minute, was the object of great scientific interest and public curiosity during the Carnegie Institution of Washington's annual exhibition of scientific work this Winter. The average adult breathes fifteen to eighteen times a minute, and the extremely slow normal breathing of the young woman, now an assistant in physiology in Goucher College, Baltimore, is considered by Dr. Francis G. Benedict of the Carnegie Institution's Nutrition Laboratory at Boston to be absolutely unique. Not even patients in hospitals who exhale and inhale ten times a minute, approach the usual rate of respiration of this physiologist who, while willing to aid science by studying the cause of her unique ability and demonstrating it to the public, desires to remain anonymous in printed reports. Her unique rate of respiration was discovered about five years ago when as a student of physiology at Mount Holyoke she noted that she did not breathe as fast as her fellow-students. The phenomenon came to the attention of Dr. Benedict, a leading research worker in the field of human physiology. He studied it and then traveled over Europe, lecturing to some 70,000 physicians in some twenty cities in an effort to find a similar case. A thorough search of the scientific litera-

ture was also made. No other instance of such slow breathing has ever been found.

Although her breathing is slow, the depth of the breathing is greater than normal. She inhales three pints of air at a time, whereas ordinary people take in and let out only one pint. Her lung capacity, however, is normal and not larger than that of the average person. The air passing through her lungs is normal in amount, and the amount of oxygen she extracts from it is also normal. If she were a singer, she would be able to hold her notes a phenomenally long time. Dr. Benedict has urged her to attempt singing as an experiment, but her interests lie in the field of scientific research rather than music. If she were a sprinter, which she is not, she probably would be able to run 200 yards in a single breath, whereas the ordinary runner completes a hundred-yard dash in one intake of air.

In the demonstration, the young physiologist wears a special form of respiration mask, like an inverted bucket which fits over the head. A rubber collar closes the open end, while a celluloid window permits her to see what is going on about her. Air enters through a tube at the top and is sucked out through a tube at the side by means of a small electric blower. The exhaust air is drawn through chemicals to absorb the carbon dioxide breathed out of the lungs. After being thus purified, the air goes back to the mask and is breathed over again. A collapsible cylinder, like a city gas tank, goes up and down as the subject breathes out and in, while a pen attached to it writes a permanent record of the breathing volume on a revolving paper cylinder. As the substance of the body burns to produce heat, oxygen is changed into carbon dioxide, and so the volume of air in the apparatus is gradually reduced. For every liter (approximately a quart) of oxygen that is used, about five calories, or heat units, are produced. Therefore, by measuring the rate at which oxygen is

used up, the heat produced by the subject can be measured.

RUINS IN THE SOUTHWEST

The mysterious, abandoned settlements of the old Southwest have at last been dated by fragments of beam and timber that have survived in the ruins. Pueblo Bonito, apartment house metropolis in New Mexico, had building programs in the years 919, 1017, 1032-92, 1102 and 1130. The Cliff Palace of the Mesa Verde ruins in Colorado was constructed with wood cut in the year 1073. The White House Pueblo bears the date of 1275. Some forty other ruins have similarly been dated. Thus the efforts of Dr. E. E. Douglass, astronomer of the University of Arizona, and archaeologists cooperating with the National Geographic Society have led to a collection of more than 5,000 cross-sections of living trees and timbers from prehistoric Indian ruins, and by reading the annual climatic record set by the trees in their rings Dr. Douglass has finally succeeded in carrying his wooden calendar back to the Golden Age of the Pueblos. They pushed back the horizons of history in the United States for nearly eight centuries before Columbus reached the shores of the New World, and they have established in our Southwest a chronology for that period more accurate than if human hands had written down the major events as they occurred.

PARROT FEVER

Parrot fever is now adding to the roll of medical martyrs. Dr. William Royal Stokes, bacteriologist of Baltimore, who handled some of the first infected parrots, gave his life in the battle with parrot fever, as did Harry B. Anderson, laboratory assistant at the United States Hygienic Laboratory. Dr. Daniel S. Hatfield of Baltimore and Dr. Charles Armstrong of the United States Public Health Service were stricken with the same rare disease, although not fatally.

Aerial Events of the Month

NEARLY SIX weeks after leaving New Zealand the Byrd relief ship, *City of New York*, which sailed on Jan. 5 for the Antarctic camp, Little America, where the members of the Byrd Expedition were waiting to leave for home, reached the Bay of Whales on Feb. 18. The ship had spent considerable time on the edge of the ice pack waiting for the ice to break sufficiently to allow her passage, and after entering the pack was blown far out of her course and covered with sheets of ice before gaining the protection of the Barrier. The day after her arrival at the camp, on Feb. 19, the ship, which had been completely loaded in about twelve hours, sailed again for home, carrying with her the Byrd Expedition, with the exception of the two planes which were left behind at the camp for lack of room. The *City of New York* cleared the ice pack on Feb. 26 and was well on her way to New Zealand on Feb. 28, when she met the *Eleanor Bolling* and sent aboard her some of the men and dogs.

The last chapter of a tragedy in the Arctic was written on Feb. 20 when the body of Lieutenant Carl Ben Eielson was discovered in the wreckage of his plane near North Cape, Siberia. The body of his mechanic, Earl Borland, had already been found on Feb. 17.

At present France heads the list of world's aviation record-holders. On Feb. 15 Captain Dieudonné Coste and Lieutenant Paul Codos broke the world's endurance and distance records for planes carrying one gross ton of cargo. In their biplane, the *Question Mark*, they flew 2,048 miles in 18 hours 1 minute and 20 seconds. Their speed record, however, was below the record average of 205 kilometers hourly, being less than 200 kilometers.

A speed record was broken by an American on Feb. 18 when Lee Schoenhair flew 100 kilometers at 185.452 miles an hour with an added weight of about 1,102 pounds. He flew a 500 kilo-

meter course with the same weight at an average speed of 171.228 miles an hour. His tests were to aid in the development of high-speed passenger airplanes carrying considerable weight.

An altitude record was made in connection with the recent international aircraft exposition which opened at St. Louis on Feb. 15. Barney Zimmerly in a light-weight open-cockpit monoplane reached, according to his barograph, an altitude of approximately 27,350 feet. It was a satisfaction to the exhibitors at the air-show that this record was made in a regular commercial machine instead of in a special experimental craft. The St. Louis exposition established a further record by making sales amounting to close to \$3,000,000.

A statistical report by the aeronautics trade division of the Department of Commerce, issued on Feb. 17, announced that our exports of aeronautic equipment for the year 1929 were three times as great as those of the year 1928. We sold, during the past year, \$5,574,480 worth of aircraft, as compared with \$1,759,653 the year before. Shipments of aircraft engines and parts increased correspondingly.

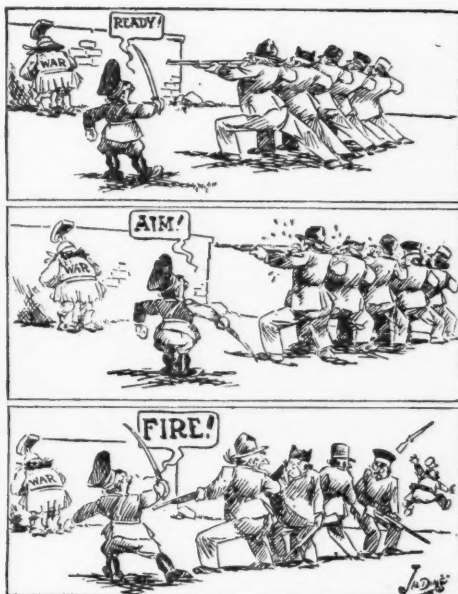
A non-stop flight, the first by a heavier-than-air plane, was made on Feb. 15 from Miami, Fla., to the Panama Canal. The flight was made by Lieutenant White and Lieutenant McMullen as the second leg of their trip from New York to Buenos Aires, a distance of 6,870 miles, which they covered in 52 actual flying hours. The entire time used was five days, which established a record for the New York-to-Buenos Aires route. The flight, according to dispatches, "not only breaks all records for the entire distance but also made record time for intermediate distances between the South American cities." From Colon the fliers went to Lima, Peru, stopping briefly at Talara. From Lima they flew to Arica, from there to Santiago, and from Santiago to Buenos Aires in 7 hours and 40 minutes.

CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOONS



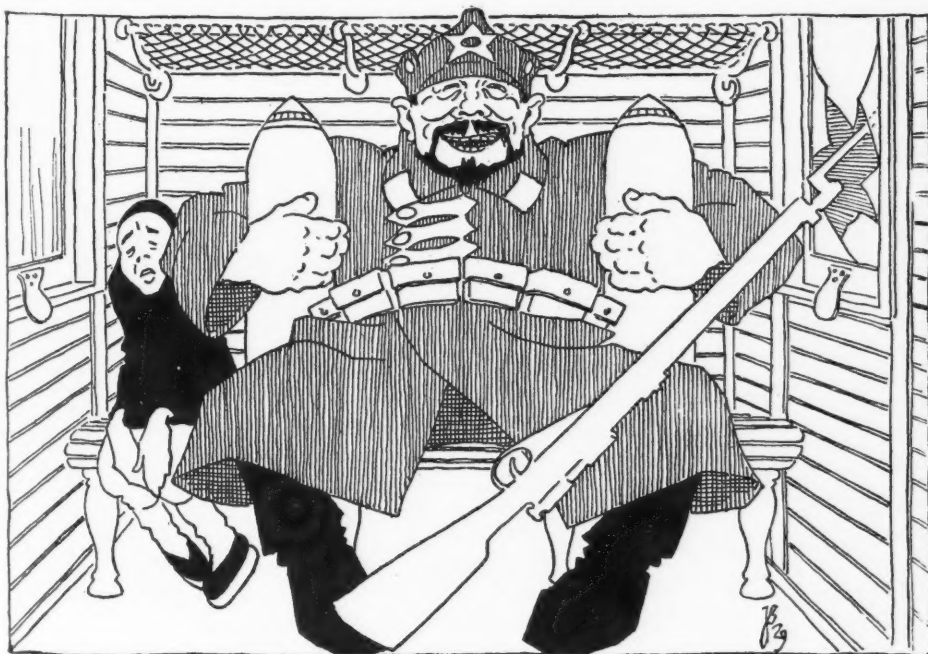
LONDON FOG

—Pittsburgh Post-Gazette



THE FIRING SQUAD

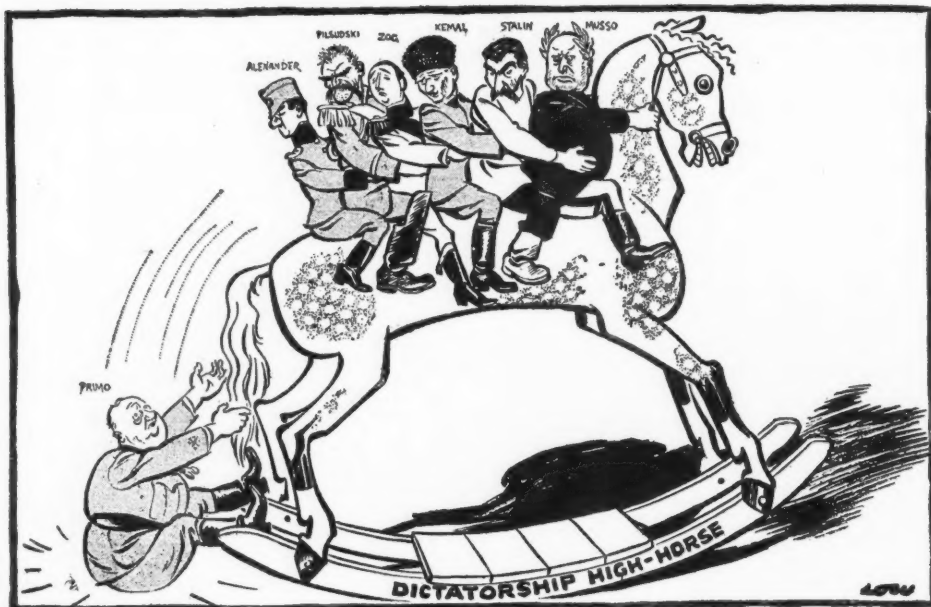
—New York Herald Tribune



CHINESE-SOVIET RAILWAY SITUATION

Peace is restored and they sit together amicably in the same compartment

—Der Wahre Jakob, Berlin



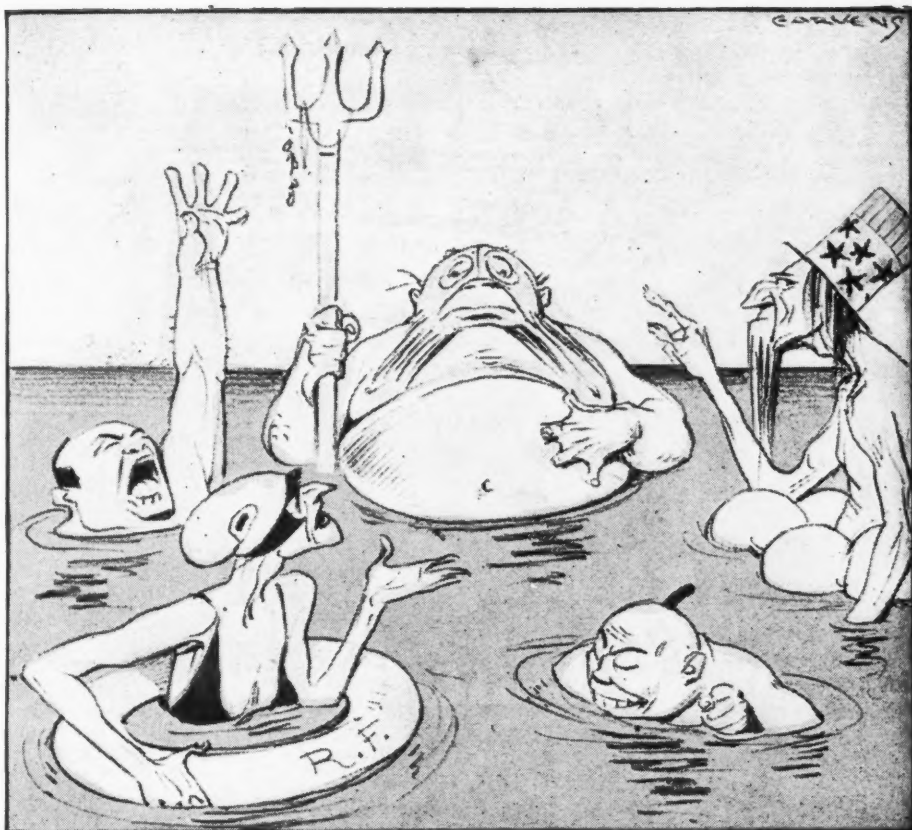
THUD!
Evening Standard,
 London



HOW THE BAD
 NEWS CAME TO
 ROME

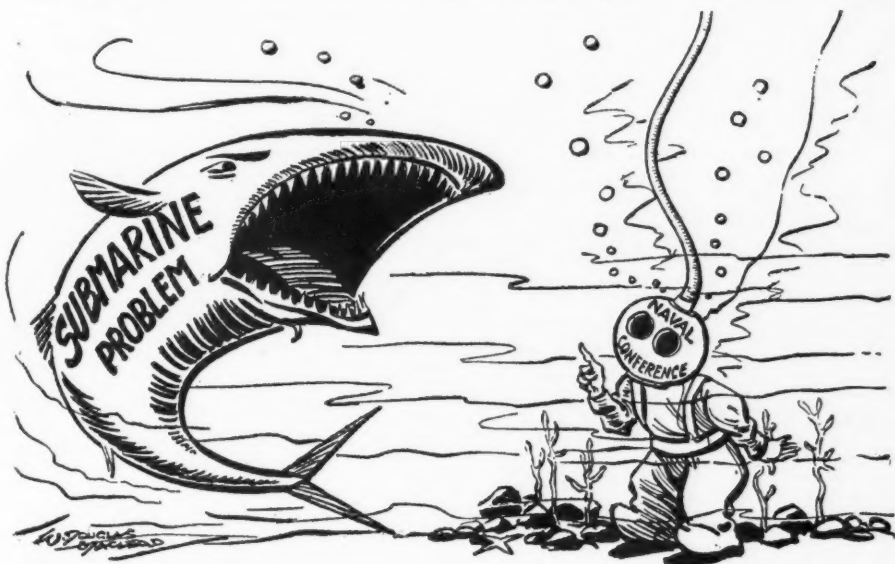
King of Italy:
 "This ought to
 amuse your Excel-
 lency"
 Signor Mussolini
 (confidently): "It
 does, sir. Ha, Ha!
 Good enough for
 'Pulcinello'"

—*Punch*, London



Smaller Gods of the Sea: "The trident should go round"

Poseidon Britannicus: "In that case, I might as well keep it" —Kladderadatsch, Berlin



Popular Song: "I lift up my finger and I say, 'Tweet, tweet; hush, hush; now, now; come, come'"

—Glasgow Evening News

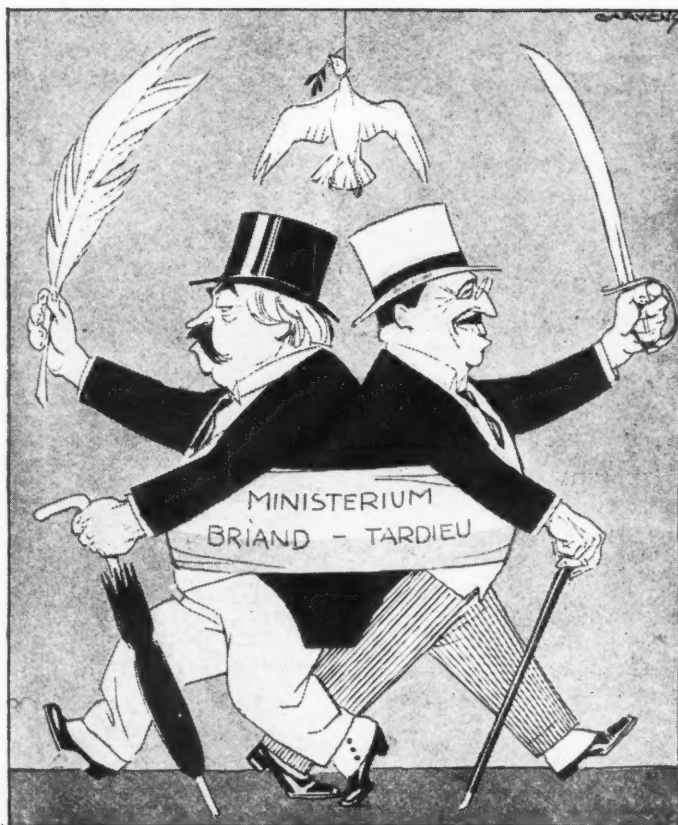
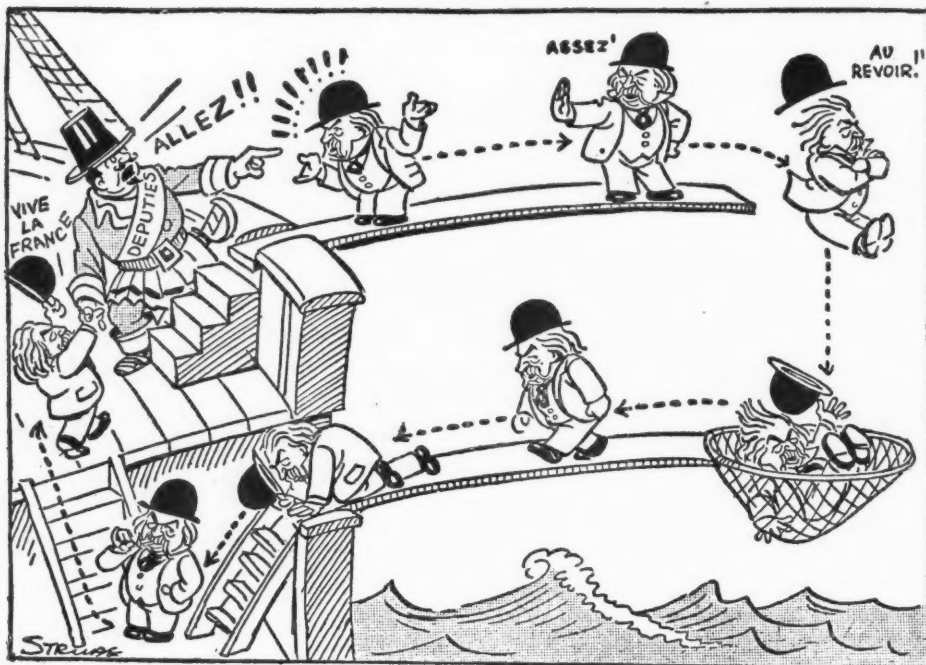


Diagram showing the French method of walking the plank

—Daily Express, London

ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO BACKWARD

France marches at the head of the European peace movement

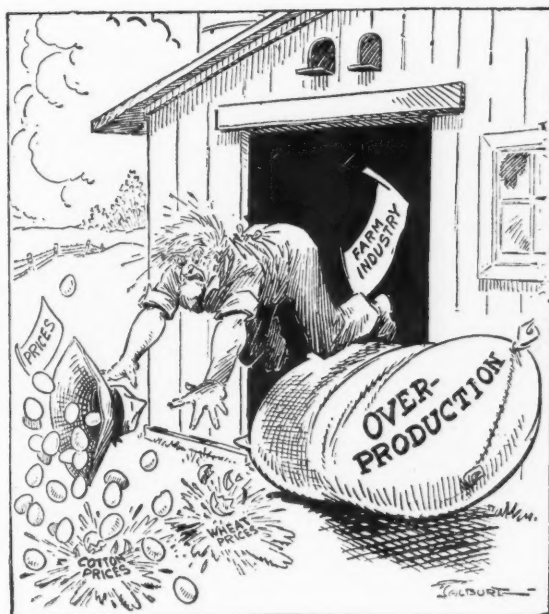
—Kladderatsch, Berlin



THE BATTLE CRY
—New York Herald Tribune

Soviet: "Thou
shalt have no
other god but
me"

—Punch, London



THE STUMBL-
ING BLOCK

—St. Paul Daily
News



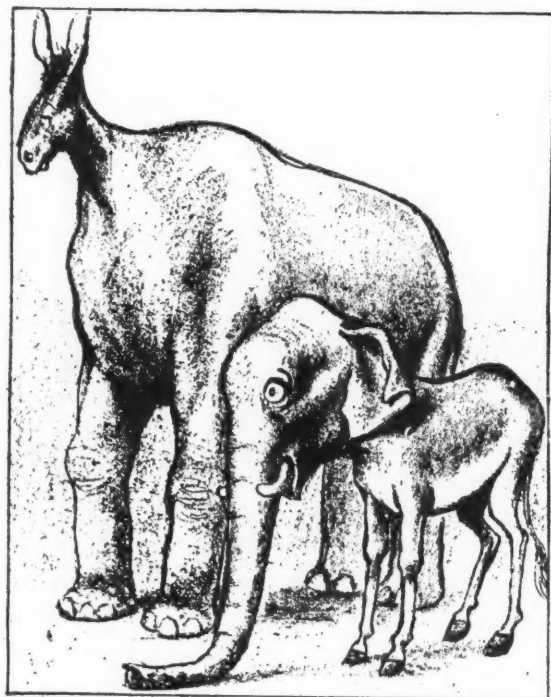
ALL GOD'S
CHILLUN
WANT WINGS

—The Sun, Bal-
timore



HE'S GET-
TING AMBI-
TIOUS AGAIN

—Los Angeles
Times



NEW AP-
PEARANCE
OF POLITI-
CAL PARTIES
IN THE
SENATE

—Boston Herald

A MONTH'S HISTORY OF THE NATIONS

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

By *JAMES THAYER GEROULD*

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

AS THIS ARTICLE is written the naval conference has been in session for seven weeks. It has labored, but thus far it has produced only one very small mouse—the application to the submarine of the ordinary rules of international law as regards the safety of passengers and crews of merchant vessels attacked. So long as the conference remains in session, there is always hope that something substantial will be accomplished; but during the recess, occasioned by the fall of the first Tardieu Government, the prospect of success did not seem at all bright. We are to continue to have battleships; submarines are not to be abolished; and so far from there being a reduction of our cruiser program, it seems likely to be increased.

For all this there are reasons in plenty, and such blame as is to be disposed of is widely distributed. No one of the delegations has the courage to make the sacrifice necessary to secure the result that all the nations desire. The United States demands that battleships shall be retained, and though Great Britain, France and Italy—possibly also Japan—would unite in their abolition, these very expensive monsters of doubtful value will remain. Great Britain and the United States, with a limited support from Italy, believe that the submarine should go, but France and Japan want them

and we shall have bigger and better submarines. We want larger cruisers and fewer of them, Great Britain more and smaller. France, smarting still at the slap at her prestige involved in the ratios of the Washington conference, is now in sufficiently good financial condition to demand a revision upward. Italy does not propose for a moment to admit her inferiority as a power to France, and while she has no present intention of building to the French level, she demands the right to do so. Japan wants parity in submarines and an increase in the Washington ratio if it is applied to cruisers. The strength of our navy must be measured by that of Great Britain, the strength of the British Navy by that of France and Italy. All three powers are concerned with the control of the Mediterranean and will yield in nothing that will weaken their position. France is also disturbed by what she regards as the menace of the two German cruisers, one of which exists only on blue-prints and the other is still far from complete. She is, notwithstanding, willing to cut her entire naval program very largely if she can have some sort of insurance regarding the Mediterranean and the attitude of the United States in case of a war waged in defiance of the Kellogg pact and of the covenant of the League of Nations. Such an assurance thus far our delegation has declined to give them, and the cost of our

unwillingness will be not less than \$500,000,000, and it may run to \$1,000,000,000.

In the maze of facts and figures, more or less contradictory, with which the papers have been filled, it is difficult for the layman to make his way. By a judicious selection and combination of facts it is possible to show, as some English writers do, that our navy is already superior to theirs; or, if one follows our own experts, that it is shockingly the weaker. It is not necessary to regard these facts too seriously, for they are, after all, only counters in the game of prestige and power. When the British recently announced that they would cancel the construction of four cruisers from their program, it was felt that they were transgressing the rules of the game and throwing away some of their best cards.

It may be possible to clarify the present state of the discussion in London by considering seriatim the debate on the various categories. At the Washington conference the capital ship was defined as "a vessel of war, not an aircraft carrier, whose displacement exceeds 10,000 tons standard displacement, or which carries a gun with a calibre exceeding 8 inches." Since the close of the conference, the United States has completed two, the West Virginian and the Colorado, and now has 528,850 tons, distributed in eighteen vessels. The British navy has built two, the Rodney and the Nelson, more powerful than any of ours, and now has twenty, with a tonnage of 556,350. Japan has ten, with a tonnage of 301,320; France nine, with a tonnage of 194,558, and Italy four, with a tonnage of 89,976.

Such vessels are not only exceedingly expensive, but there is a growing opinion among naval men that their utility is doubtful. Although in the discussion before the conference began little was said about battleships, the question of their abolition was raised publicly by the British Premier, while our delegates were voyaging to London, with a statement of his government's willingness to proceed toward their

elimination. France and Italy let it be known that they would agree. The attitude of Japan was non-committal, but she would doubtless have assented. The suggestion was very coldly received by the American delegation. No statement has been made officially in defense of this position other than that the battleship is regarded by our naval strategists as the "core" or the "backbone" of the fleet. It is said that, with the discontinuance of the fortification of the Philippines after the Washington conference, the Navy regards the battleship as a floating fortification necessary for its defense. Instead of abolition, the program of our delegation was stated officially by Secretary Stimson on Feb. 6: "In battleships, we suggest, by reduction in number on both sides, to equalize our two fleets in 1931 instead of 1942." Somewhat amplified, this means that the battleship holiday is to be extended until the end of 1936, and that the fleets are to be reduced in number to fifteen each. The official position of the British was stated by Mr. MacDonald on the next day in these terms:

The government proposes that the number of capital ships for each signatory fixed by the Washington treaty should be reached within eighteen months of ratification of the treaty resulting from this conference instead of by 1936. It proposes that no replacement of existing ships should take place before the next conference, in 1935, and that in the meantime the whole question of capital ships should be the subject of negotiation between the powers concerned.

The government will press for reduction, though, of course, without disturbing the Washington equilibrium. Its experts favor a reduction in size from 35,000 tons to 25,000 tons, and of guns from 16 to 12 inches. The government also favors the lengthening of age from twenty to twenty-six years.

The government hopes that there will be an exchange of views on this subject during the conference. Indeed, it would wish to see an agreement by which battleships will in due time disappear altogether, as it considers them a very doubtful proposition, in view of their size and cost and of the development of the efficacy of air and submarine attack.

For some reason, not satisfactorily explained, a supplementary suggestion,

to the effect that the United States desired to interrupt the battleship holiday by the substitution for one of our present vessels of a new battleship of 35,000 tons comparable in fighting efficiency to the Rodney and the Nelson, was not made public until Feb. 8. This proposal met with a very unfavorable response, since it is claimed that it would give our navy thirty-three 16-inch guns against eighteen for the British.

The French position, as given in their memorandum of Feb. 13, is as follows:

As concerns capital ships, France has not thus far availed herself of the right given her by the Washington treaty of building before the conference the 70,000 tons in replacement of the ships which disappeared in 1922, the Jean Bart and the Courbet, whose substituting tonnage might have been laid down as soon as 1927. France is now obliged, owing to the recent forthcoming of a new type of battleship, to make use of part of that credit of 70,000 tons before the end of 1936, and she might be compelled to use it completely during the same period should new ships of the same type happen to be built. Therefore, in case a naval holiday should be proposed for battleships until 1936, France would be willing to accept such a holiday up to a total of 105,000 tons.

The Italians, on Feb. 19, agreed to postpone the construction of the 105,000 tons allowed under the Washington treaty, and carefully to consider total abolition. Japan, in her statement on Feb. 13, did not refer to abolition, which obviously she will not undertake to do so long as capital ships form a part of the United States Navy, but she expressed herself as ready to agree not to lay down any of them until 1936. She considers it desirable that their size should be limited to 25,000 tons, their gun calibre to 14 inches, and that their age limit should be increased from twenty to twenty-six years.

Since the largest practicable economies are to be secured by the abolition of battleships, there was a general desire that a discussion of this question should precede that of cruisers, but against this arrangement our delegation took a firm stand. They held that the Washington agreement was

fairly satisfactory, and that the categories on which there was no limitation should be disposed of before revising what we now have. When that business is out of the way, our delegation may take a different attitude. This is, at least, a fair deduction from Senator Watson's speech on Feb. 19 to the newspaper men, in the course of which he said that "when the limitation of cruisers, destroyers and submarines is in plain sight, further reductions in battleships below the Washington treaty plan will be logical and desirable."

As regards cruisers, there has been an endless amount of controversy, but as yet no substantial agreement. Secretary Stimson's statement on Feb. 6 reviewed the tentative arrangement already reached with Great Britain, and as to the small unadjusted difference he suggested that since the United States desired larger cruisers and Great Britain those of smaller tonnage, each should build what they want up to a limit of fifteen 10,000-ton ships for the British and eighteen for the Americans, with such additional small cruisers as would give the British a total of 339,000 tons and the Americans 327,000, each nation retaining the right to duplicate the fleet of the other so long as the total remains within these limits.

The British memorandum of Feb. 7 reiterated their desire to maintain a total tonnage of 339,000, and advocated the right to transfer from the 8-inch to the 6-inch class, but not the other way around. A final arrangement will be governed by the decision of the conference regarding limitation in the size of units. The British Government proposes that the tonnage limit of 8-inch cruisers should remain at 10,000 tons, as provided for in the Washington treaty, and that there should be a tonnage limit for smaller vessels at about 6,000 or 7,000 tons. It suggests that only a fixed proportion in the latter class should be built up to that limit and that the life of cruisers should be twenty years.

The French, in their statement of

Feb. 13, maintained their position that limitation should be global rather than by categories, and asked for the right to build, between 1930 and 1936, 240,000 tons, of which 42,200 would be complementary and 196,800 tons would represent replacement. This would give them, at the end of 1936: capital ships, 209,257; 10,000-ton cruisers, 100,000; other cruisers of the 8-inch class, 24,850; light ships (6-inch cruisers, destroyers, torpedo boats, and so forth), 258,597; aircraft carriers, 32,146; submarines, 99,629; or a total of 724,479 tons. This program she is willing considerably to reduce in exchange for guarantees of security.

The Italians follow the French in basing their estimates on global tonnage, and in their statement of Feb. 19 they declared that "they are prepared not to exceed the global tonnage of vessels, not covered by the Washington treaty, possessed by the strongest European power," and to "accept any reduction that such power might make during the life of the convention." Japan has made no official statement of her tonnage requirements. The Japanese attach "special importance to 8-inch-gun cruisers and desire to maintain minimum strength sufficient for national defense, taking into consideration the strength held by other powers." They advocate the limitation of 6-inch-gun cruisers to 7,000 or 7,500 tons, and an age limit of twenty years. As regards submarines, they consider them "eminently adapted for defensive uses," and are convinced of the necessity to retain this category of warship.

The plenary session of Feb. 11 was given over to a discussion of the submarine problem. The debate was opened by A. V. Alexander of the British delegation, who summarized the argument for its abolition as follows: "(1) In the general interest of humanity; (2) in consideration of our view that these vessels are primarily offensive instruments; (3) in order to secure a most substantial contribution to disarmament and peace; (4) in view of the very important financial relief to be obtained; and (5) in consideration of the con-

ditions of service of the personnel and the undue risks which can be abolished." If abolition is impossible, he advocated the revival of the unratified agreement signed at Washington on Feb. 6, 1922, regulating the attack on merchant vessels. Secretary Stimson, who followed him, stated that the "essential objection to the submarine is that it is a weapon particularly subject to abuse; that it is susceptible of use against merchant ships in a way that violates the laws of war and the dictates of humanity."

Answering him, M. Leygues of the French delegation argued that the submarine is a vessel of war like any other, and that it is submersible is purely incidental. As such it is useful to nations which have no large fleets for protection of coast cities against attack, in convoying transports of men and goods between the mother country and the colonies, in guarding lines of communication, and in scouting and protecting the high sea fleet. For these reasons his delegation could not consent to abolition, but would join in an agreement "forbidding submarines to act toward merchant ships otherwise than in strict conformity with the rules, either present or future, to be observed by surface warships." Grandi, for the Italian delegation, expressed their willingness to concur in regulation, but he felt that the conference should do more than this. Doubtless the submarine is the weapon of the nations less powerful navally, but its use necessitates the construction of a large number of light surface vessels capable of combating them, and is a "major incentive toward the increase of naval armament." Since this is the case, the Italian Government does not object in principle to its abolition. With this Japan could not agree, declared Admiral Takarabe. While they were opposed to the unrestricted use of submarines and would gladly concur in regulation, such vessels are no more subject to abuse than are aircraft. They seem particularly adapted for the defense of an island empire like Japan.

In substance, then, the present situa-

tion is this. We are to have battleships because the United States, the only nation financially in a position to build them, is not willing to give up this symbol of power. We are to have a large increase in our fleet of cruisers because we are not ready to give up our right to sell goods to nations that violate their obligations under the covenant of the League and the Pact of Paris, nor are we willing to agree to consult with other nations in time of peril. Submarines are to be continued because France and Japan regard them as a cheap weapon of war, and are unwilling to give up the advantage already secured by extensive construction.

All the nations at the conference have signed a solemn treaty in which they "renounce war as an instrument of national policy" and "agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them shall never be sought except by pacific means." In his Armistice Day speech President Hoover said: "We will reduce our naval strength in proportion to any other. Having said that, it only remains for the others to say how far they will go. It cannot be too low for us."

[Since the above was written certain events of importance have occurred. The conference resumed its activities, interrupted for nearly three weeks by the fall of Premier Tardieu in France, on Friday, March 7, with the new French delegates sent by the second Tardieu Government in attendance.

Meanwhile important consultations had been going on between the representatives of the various nations. Such conversations were carried on for nearly two weeks by Senator David A. Reed and Tsuneo Matsudaira, the Japanese Ambassador. On March 4 it was stated that the United States was standing firm on the ratio of ten to six on cruisers, while Japan insisted that she was entitled to 70, instead of 60, per cent. But on March 7, when the conference resumed activities, the conversa-

tions were continued by Reijiro Wakatsuki, head of the Japanese delegation, and Secretary Stimson, and a tentative compromise agreement was reported whereby Japan would have 70 per cent in 1936, and 60 per cent thereafter.

On March 5 Secretary Stimson issued an official statement saying that the prospects of the naval conference indicated a net reduction of 200,000 tons in the American fleet, building and appropriated for. This applied to capital ships, destroyers and submarines, but not to aircraft carriers. The text of the statement read as follows:

There seems to be an impression that the work of the American delegation at this conference is likely to result in an increase instead of a reduction in the tonnage of the navies of the world.

The surest way to answer that is to give such results as seem to be within reach up to date. The plan which in its essentials appears to be acceptable to America and Great Britain provides for a net reduction in the tonnage of the American fleet, in capital ships, cruisers, destroyers and submarines, built, building or appropriated for, of over 200,000 tons and an even larger reduction on the part of the British fleet.

If vessels authorized but not commenced were included in existing fleets, the amount of reduction would be much greater.

Of course, these reductions are contingent upon some reduction being made in the fleets of other powers.

The trend of public opinion regarding naval reduction was indicated by two urgent appeals sent to the conference by respective American and British groups. On March 3 a telegram sent the American delegation by Raymond B. Fosdick, signed by 1,200 prominent Americans, urging naval reduction and approving a plan for consultation by the five powers in case of a threat of war, was being considered. On March 6 a similar British appeal was handed to Premier MacDonald at his office in the House of Commons. It was signed by Gilbert Murray, H. J. Laski, H. W. Nevins and other prominent men.]

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

[RECORD UP TO MARCH 10, 1930.]

THE MOST important current activity of the League is the Conference on Concerted Economic Action, commonly known as the "Tariff Truce," now meeting at Geneva. Twenty-nine nations, mostly European, with a few others, and with Edwin C. Wilson as American observer, began their sessions on Feb. 17.

The conference opened with discussion of Great Britain's desire for an agreement not to increase tariffs for two years, until a series of future conferences might gradually lower the tariffs between countries. Germany pointed out that all but seven of the European countries had recently raised their tariffs and Austria added that the renewal of a tariff war spells failure of the League's economic work. Italy was frankly pessimistic over the whole affair.

As the conference goes into its third week it appears not unlike a disarmament conference—with nations jockeying for position, each hoping to better its particular situation, but each seemingly hoping that a treaty may be signed.

Another conference that is making history is that of the Committee of Eleven appointed to harmonize the League covenant with the peace pact of Paris. The report issued on March 7, will go first to the League Council in May and then to the Assembly in September for final action. Important changes are recommended in three of the covenant articles. If adopted, Article 12 will be changed to prohibit war altogether; nations will pledge themselves to use only pacific means in the settlement of disputes.

Article 13, Section 4, will omit "recourse to war," the gist of the section to be that the nations will not take action against a nation carrying out a decision of arbitration, and will, if the decision is not carried out, try to suggest measures for solution of the difficulty.

Article 15, Sections 6 and 7, are amended to strengthen the right of the council to try to get a dispute settled by unanimous vote. If unanimity cannot be secured the World Court may be asked for an advisory opinion on the judicial phases of the dispute by a majority vote of the council.

This last measure is very significant and may not be accepted by Great Britain, which feels that this may be an opening move toward a plan to have the economic and military sanctions of the covenant put into operation by a majority vote of the council instead of a unanimous vote as at present. With the United States not in the League, Britain may hesitate to be called on to take part in an economic blockade by a vote of eight small countries in the council. France, on the other hand, well recognizes that one negative vote in the council (excepting the disputants) can prevent any sanctions whatever from being applied.

Here are two opposite schools of thought coming clearly to the front; one in the United States and Britain believing that public opinion, if organized for maximum effect in the League of Nations, will keep the peace of the world and that no other sanctions are necessary; the other, mostly in France, believing that the knowledge that economic and military sanctions will surely be applied against an aggressor State is the best possible protection in keeping any State from breaking its pledges.

The advisory opium committee of the League is recommending a plan to the council that if really carried out will go far toward solving the problem of control of drugs. Instead of trying to check the distribution, impossible because of the ease of smuggling, the new plan will supervise the manufacture. Each country will estimate its legitimate medical and scientific requirements. These amounts will be allocated among the manufacturing countries who will each see that no more than its

share is produced. It is expected that the United States will take part in the final conference to put the plan into effect because our country has before this recommended some such plan and our representative on the committee, John K. Caldwell, has been active in trying to suppress the illicit traffic.

Two health committees have been meeting. The Advisory Council of the Far Eastern Health Bureau has been reporting to the Secretariat by telephone from Java 6,000 miles away. Our interest in this meeting is not only that the Philippines were represented, but also that the epidemiological intelligence service will now be made available by wireless from Singapore not only to all parts of the Far East but also to Europe and America.

The health committee itself convened at Geneva on March 5. Dr. Rajchmann reported that China is appropriating \$500,000 and is asking extensive League help in organizing a central hygiene board and a complete health service. This rapprochement between China and the League is highly important in strengthening League influence in the Far East.

Great Britain has ratified her acceptance of the optional clause by which she agrees to submit all legal disputes to the World Court. This ratification automatically makes Brazil's ratification effective as her action was conditioned upon similar action by two permanent members of the council. Great Britain and South Africa have also ratified the protocols of American adherence to the court and the revision of the court statute.

The resignation of Charles Evans Hughes from the court was submitted. His successor will be elected with other

judges during the Assembly meeting in September. A request for an advisory opinion on the question of "communities" has been submitted to the council by the Greco-Bulgarian mixed commission with the consent of both governments.

The United States is participating in the League conference for the codification of international law which opened at The Hague on March 13. Three subjects were to be considered: nationality, territorial waters and responsibility of States for damage done in their territory, to persons or property of foreigners. Very careful work on these subjects has been done by the preparatory committee and by the committee of experts. George W. Wickersham has been a member. Our delegation consists of the following: David Hunter Miller, Green H. Hackworth of the State Department, Theodore G. Risley of the Department of Labor, Richard W. Flournoy Jr. of the State Department, Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley of the State Department and the technical advisers: Jesse S. Reeves, University of Michigan; Edwin M. Borchard, Yale University; Manley O. Hudson, Harvard University; S. W. Boggs, State Department; Dr. Emma Wold, National Woman's party.

For several years the League has been unable or unwilling to force a decision between Hungary on one side and Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia on the other, on the question of reasonable compensation for the lands of Hungarians confiscated in those countries. The question has now been settled as a part of the reparation plans, and the way is clear for cooperation between these countries.

THE UNITED STATES

THE ONLY THING certain about unemployment statistics in the United States is their uncertainty. "We have absolutely no figures as to the number of persons unemployed at any definite time," says Professor Eberling in his article on page 47 of this magazine, and no such figures will be available until the results of the census are known. One thing is sure, however: that there has been a great deal of unemployment during the past Winter, enough seriously to worry President Hoover, Secretary of Labor Davis and William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor. It is necessary only to summarize the statements of those who have access to such data as there are to see the fundamental confusion of the situation, which bears out Professor Eberling's contention.

Thus, on Jan. 1, Francis Jones, Director General of the Department of Labor's Employment Service, reported hopefully that, although "unemployment became pronounced toward the close of the year, * * * the vigor and strength of the nation are evidencing themselves, and after a careful survey of the business outlook we enter the new year with optimistic spirit and high hopes. * * *" A week later President Green declared that there were 3,000,000 unemployed and that the situation had been acute even before the Wall Street crash. On Jan. 21 President Hoover announced that, according to information from the Department of Labor, the tide of employment had since Jan. 1 begun to rise for the first time since the crash. This statement was promptly challenged by Miss Frances Perkins, New York State Industrial Commissioner, who declared that there had been no rise but a steady decline in employment since October, 1929, and that the President's information had been based on inadequate material improperly analyzed and

too hurriedly gathered. Commissioner Perkins said that unemployment in December had been the worst for that month since 1914 and that there were indications that January would be still worse.

Nevertheless, cheerful reports continued to emanate from Washington. On Jan. 28 the President made public another Department of Labor report to the effect that the week ended Jan. 13 had shown a 3.3 per cent increase in employment over the week before, and on Feb. 13 the Labor Department predicted that employment would be back to "normal" within ninety days. The recovery of business was hailed by Julius H. Barnes, chairman of the National Business Survey Conference, on Feb. 18. He asserted that it was partly due to the fact that 10,000,000 more people are now employed than in 1921. Secretary of Commerce Lamont at the same time made a similarly optimistic report.

Figures for the month of January issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on Feb. 19 indicated that employment in eight major industrial groups fell 2.6 per cent below December and payrolls 5.4 per cent, but it was stated that this slump was largely seasonal, while the Federal Reserve Board denied any appreciable gain in business during January, but asserted that industrial employment had picked up. In a business survey issued on March 1 the American Federation of Labor found that unemployment during February had reached a point of "serious danger" with 22 per cent of union members out of work. The federation saw no immediate help except charity, and opined that things might have been worse had it not been for President Hoover's economic conferences.

Unemployment was discussed at a Cabinet meeting on March 4, after which Secretary Davis laid the admittedly "distressing unemployment"

directly to the stock market crash, but declared that "the administration has held unemployment to less than one-half that of previous crashes." He estimated that the census would show 3,000,000 out of work. These views were confirmed by Mr. Hoover on March 5. He let it be known that he did not consider conditions alarming, and that the machinery which the administration had set in motion should remedy the situation within sixty days.

Political bias dominated the discussion of unemployment in the Senate. Senator Goff, a regular Republican, blamed the coalition for delaying the tariff and thereby unsettling business, while Senator La Follette, insurgent, retorted that the administration had done nothing but issue "optimistic ballyhoo statements." Secretary Davis asserted that "delays in tariff legislation are more responsible today for creating unemployment than any other factor." Senator Brookhart, estimating the jobless as between 3,000,000 and 6,000,000, introduced a bill appropriating \$50,000,000 for a relief dole. Senator Wagner offered several measures to create Federal employment agencies, collect accurate data and plan preventive programs in the future.

Meanwhile the most acute phase of unemployment showed itself in the big cities, especially New York, where employment bureaus, free lodging houses and relief societies had a large overflow of applicants. Communist organizations on March 6 took advantage of this floating, idle population to organize demonstrations in Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Cleveland, Philadelphia, New York and other cities. A number of people were hurt when the police charged and scattered the crowds in New York.

PROHIBITION

The forum for prohibition discussion shifted during the past month to the hearings before the House Judiciary Committee, where seven resolutions for repeal, modification and a referendum were under consideration. From Feb. 12

to March 5 the floor belonged to anti-prohibitionists, after which the drys began to give their side.

The hearings opened with a denunciation of prohibition by George S. Graham, chairman of the Judiciary Committee. Although containing such militant wets as Graham and La Guardia, the majority of the committee was said to be dry. Wet organizations mobilized their forces for the attack, which was opened on Feb. 13 by women witnesses, among them Mrs. Charles H. Sabin and Representative Mary Norton. The latter supported her plan to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment by a referendum in each State, while Mrs. Sabin laid to prohibition the alleged demoralization of the younger generation and the increase in crime.

Former Senator William Cabell Bruce attacked the "preacher-politicians," who, he said, are dry fanatics. Prominent financiers, authors and professional men, such as Channing Pollock, playwright; Henry B. Joy, former president of the Packard Motor Car Company; Dr. Samuel Church, president of the Carnegie Institute, and Frederick R. Coudert, international lawyer, appeared to testify to the failure of prohibition. Mr. Coudert made a sensational prediction that revolution would result from any "real" attempt to enforce prohibition. General W. W. Atterbury, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, testifying on Feb. 26, demanded a return to State rights and declared that prohibition had made no difference to railroad employes, since temperance had always been demanded of them. Dr. Butler, president of Columbia University, submitted a statement advocating the Canadian or Swedish system for this country. Pierre S. du Pont denied that prohibition had stimulated prosperity and pleaded for State control. The case against prohibition was summed up on March 4 by Representative Linthicum of Maryland, who pointed to the overcrowding of courts and prisons, the alleged existence of 247,052 stills and the seizure of 30,000,000 gallons of liquor in 1929.

"We thank the Anti-Saloon League for eliminating the saloon. Now let them help us eradicate the speakeasy," he concluded.

Although at this writing the prohibitionists had held only two hearings, testimony from highly important sources had already been heard. On March 5 Henry Ford and Thomas Edison submitted requested statements in support of prohibition. Mr. Ford's message said: "The Eighteenth Amendment is recognized by men and women as the greatest force for the comfort and prosperity of the United States. I feel sure that the sane people of this nation will never see it repealed or any dangerous modification." Mr. Edison telegraphed:

I still feel prohibition is the greatest experiment to benefit man. My observation is that its enforcement generally is at least 60 per cent and is gaining, notwithstanding the impression through false propaganda that it is a lower per cent. It is strange to me that some men of great ability and standing do not help to remove the curse of liquor.

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, president of the World's Christian Endeavor Union, presented evidence from thirty college presidents, twenty-six of whom had asserted that drinking was not prevalent among students. Dr. Poling stated that after wide observation he believed there was less drinking among young people now than at any other time in the past eight years.

On March 6 statistics showing improved health throughout the country under prohibition were presented by Patrick H. Callahan, a Kentucky manufacturer. Mr. Callahan also asserted that the Catholic Church favored prohibition. An outstanding difference between the wet and dry hearings was that the latter were punctuated by cross-questioning and counter arguments from the wet members of the Judiciary Committee, particularly Representatives Graham, La Guardia and Celler.

On April 14 the proceedings of the Supreme Court should greatly interest the public, Chief Justice Hughes designating that day for a review of the

Norris case which determines whether the buyer of liquor who conspires to transport it is guilty of breaking the law. Alfred Norris, who made arrangements for liquor to be delivered to him, was convicted on this charge and fined \$200. He appealed, and the Circuit Court reversed the decision.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

The death of William Howard Taft, former President and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, occurred on March 8. In a proclamation issued on the same day, President Hoover said:

Mr. Taft's service to our country has been of rare distinction and was marked by a purity of patriotism, a lofty disinterestedness and a devotion to the best interests of the nation that deserve and will ever command the grateful memory of his countrymen. His career was almost unique in the wide range of official duty, as judge, as Solicitor General, Governor General of the Philippines, Secretary of War, President of the United States and, finally, Chief Justice.

His private life was characterized by a simplicity of virtue that won for him a place in the affection of his fellow-countrymen rarely equaled by any man. In public and in private life he set a shining example, and his death will be mourned throughout the land.

The Supreme Court suffered another loss in the death of Justice Edward Terry Sanford, who passed away suddenly just a few hours before Mr. Taft on March 8. Justice Sanford, who was 64 years old, had been appointed to the Supreme Court in 1923 on the recommendation of Mr. Taft, who had become Chief Justice a year and a half previously. He entered public life in 1908, on being appointed Assistant Attorney General by President Roosevelt.

The Senate confirmed Charles Evans Hughes as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court on Feb. 13 after a four-day fight, during which a bitter opposition was led by Senators Norris, Borah and Glass. Senator Norris opened the quite unexpected attack on the Hughes nomination on Feb. 10 with the assertion that "it is not far amiss to say that no man in public life so exemplifies the influence of powerful combination in the political and financial world as does

Mr. Hughes." Senator Norris listed the fifty-four occasions on which Mr. Hughes had argued cases before the Supreme Court from 1925 to 1930, in almost all of which he had represented large corporations. Senator Norris claimed that these associations, without reflecting on Mr. Hughes's honesty or conscientiousness, must necessarily "cloud" his viewpoint. Similar arguments were advanced by Senators Borah and Glass on Feb. 11.

As the attack developed it became clear that its basis was economic rather than personal, that it was aimed at the attitude of the Supreme Court toward the regulation of public utilities and the consequences of adding another conservative judge to the court. As an editorial writer in the *New York World* put the opposition's viewpoint:

The protest is directed against the fact that the Federal courts have in the last decade undermined the power of the States and the localities to regulate natural monopolies, and have in effect taken the regulatory power into their own hands. The conviction has been growing, and is now at the threshold of political action, that the majority of the Supreme Court has emasculated popular control of utilities, and it is this conviction which has found its expression in the protest against Mr. Hughes.

By this is meant the fact that the Supreme Court has in a number of decisions allowed utility companies to increase the valuation of their property, thus necessitating higher rates to produce a legitimate percentage of profit.

Of the eight Associates Justices, five are generally considered conservative, while three, classed as liberals (Holmes, Brandeis and Stone), contribute the dissenting opinion in a great number of cases. By this calculation the addition of Mr. Hughes would make the line-up six to three. This argument entirely ignores the fact that the office of the Chief Justice is about as far removed from considerations of personal prejudices and politics as that of the King of England, and that a man of Mr. Hughes's undoubted honesty would, on assuming that high position, cultivate disinterestedness to the full extent of his powers.

The resignation of Charles E. Hughes Jr. was followed by the appointment of Thomas Day Thacher as Solicitor General on Feb. 20. Mr. Thacher had been Federal Judge for the Southern District of New York since 1925.

Dr. John Grier Hibben, president of Princeton University, announced on Feb. 22 the founding of a new school of public and international affairs. The purpose of the school, said Dr. Hibben, is to train young men in statesmanship. The school's advisory board contained a number of prominent names, among them John W. Davis, Charles Evans Hughes, Dwight W. Morrow and Owen D. Young. De Witt Clinton Poole, former counselor of the American Embassy in Berlin, was chosen resident member of the board.

Dr. Hibben quoted Woodrow Wilson's phrase: "We dare not keep aloof and closet ourselves while a nation grows to maturity." He continued:

We need men who have a knowledge of governments, domestic and foreign; men who are grounded in the principles of international law and men who are trained in the fundamentals of international finance and commerce. We believe that with equal endowment of energy such men will succeed better as bankers, journalists, diplomats, public men or exporters than most of those now filling these positions. The outstanding men we see at present have acquired such a "total perspective" in mature years; the problem is how to give it to a new generation earlier.

THE TARIFF

To what extent the President may and should influence legislation is a question that has been raised again and again in regard to the tariff. As one political observer put it: "There is between the Senate and the President an undefined no-man's land of authority and prestige." Mr. Hoover has been extraordinarily silent on the bill under consideration for the past year. Aside from his two expressed objections (to the debenture and the flexible clause), which were in vain, since the Senate included both provisions in the bill, Mr. Hoover has steadfastly refused to commit himself. He has answered all accusations of lack of leadership with the

single statement that he could not be expected to have an expert opinion on the complicated subject of rates.

The President again took a hand in tariff matters with a plea for speed in the interests of business. This appeal was equally useless. It resulted from a complaint by Representative Tilson, Republican floor leader of the House, that the Senate "deadlock" was holding up the House program of legislation, which included supply bills, prohibition reform and appropriations for public works which would alleviate unemployment. Disturbed by this threat, the President called a breakfast conference on Feb. 18, at which he told Republican Senators Watson, Smoot and McNary that the business situation demanded quick action on the tariff; they in turn reported this to the Senate, where several hours were consumed tossing the blame for the delay back and forth. Then the Senate resumed its normal pace in disposing of the rates.

Lumber, oil and sugar were the products most hotly debated, when a combination of regular Republicans with a few Democrats attempted to impose duties on the first two and raise the rate on the third. But the amendment making lumber dutiable was defeated by a vote of 39 to 34 on Feb. 27, and on the next day an attempt to take crude oil off the free list shared the same fate. It was therefore something of a surprise when the Smoot amendment raising the sugar rates to 2 cents on Cuban and 2.50 cents a pound on foreign sugar was passed on March 5 by a vote of 47 to 39. By this vote the Senate reversed its decision of Jan. 16 to keep the existing duties. The ten Senators who changed their minds were Jones, Metcalf, Pine, Schall and Goff, Republicans; Ashurst, Dill, Hayden, Thomas and Trammell, Democrats. The Senate's decision on cement was also reversed when the new combination voted it off the free list with a duty of 6 cents a hundred pounds on March 7. Nine Democrats joined thirty-six Republicans to defeat the Democratic-insurgent coalition.

The old cry of "vote trading" was

revived during the discussion of these rates. Hearings before the Caraway committee on lobbies revealed that an oil lobby had tried to persuade Senators to vote for a tariff, and this fact helped to defeat the proposed duty.

The trend of other rates was generally as the coalition desired. On Feb. 17 the duty on aluminum was cut from 5 to 2 cents a pound. The rates on cattle and other farm products, such as vegetables and fruits, were raised on Feb. 18 and 19. Efforts to impose a 20 per cent tariff on bread, which is now on the free list, were beaten by 53 to 23 on Feb. 20. Higher rates on wool products, which it was said would increase the price of clothing, were pushed through over the protests of coalitionists.

More than 500 prominent educators petitioned the Senate on March 6 against the censorship of so-called "obscene and indecent literature" by customs officials. Part of this censorship clause had been voted out of the tariff bill, but Senator Smoot announced that he would ask the Senate to reconsider it.

President Hoover issued a warning to Congress on Feb. 24 that if the appropriations before it, over and above the budget, were passed there would have to be a 40 per cent increase in taxes. He pointed out that the margin of surplus was very small and that Federal revenue could not be accurately calculated, since the exact effect of the Wall Street crash on incomes could not be estimated. The President's ultimatum caused considerable resentment in both branches of Congress. The House pointed to the fact that in passing seven appropriation bills it had cut estimates by \$25,000,000. Democratic and insurgent Senators indignantly denied any extravagance. The President hastened to point out in a subsequent statement that pressure from the outside was largely to blame for the great number of appropriations asked of Congress. He begged organizations all over the country not to press their special projects, since the government could not possibly undertake all worthy enterprises. It was revealed that Represen-

tative Wood, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, had become alarmed at the number of requests and had put his fears before Mr. Hoover, with the resulting statement. Thus, this was the second time in one week that the President had acted on warnings from the House, only to be severely criticized by his opponents in Congress.

The shadow of Congressional elections next Fall has loomed over the doings of Congress for some time. Congressmen have been working with one

eye on their business and the other on their constituents. Democrats therefore hailed as a "prophecy" the result of an election on Feb. 12 in the Second Congressional District in Massachusetts, necessitated by the death of Representative Kaynor last December. For the first time in its history, this district elected a Democrat, William J. Granfield, to Congress. His victory was laid to the fact that he was an out-and-out wet, while his Republican opponent straddled the question. D. E. W.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

PROFESSOR OF LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

EXCITEMENT and uncertainty over the attempt to assassinate President Ortiz Rubio on the day of his inauguration (Feb. 5) soon subsided, and eleven days after he was wounded President Ortiz Rubio was able to go to his office. The same day (Feb. 16), as a preliminary to the government's plan to prohibit the carrying of pistols by civilians, citizens were stopped by detectives on streets and in public buildings and searched for concealed weapons. The investigation of the attempted assassination was officially declared on Feb. 19 to come under the jurisdiction of the civilian instead of that of the military authorities, opening the possibility of imprisonment for twenty years instead of the death sentence.

The agrarian policy of the new administration was foreshadowed in an address delivered to a convention of agricultural workers in Mexico City on Feb. 18 by Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor Luis León. He said that the government's policy of granting communal lands should be continued until every agricultural worker had his plot of ground. He asserted, however, that "the time will arrive when Mexico must seriously face payment of her agrarian indebtedness,

which logically will extend over twenty or perhaps forty or sixty years." President Ortiz Rubio has repeatedly stated that communal lands expropriated in the future will be paid for in cash, and in strict accordance with prevailing laws. Since 1920 payment by the Mexican Government for lands expropriated for communal grants has been made in bonds. Up to the end of 1927 the number of acres allotted as communal lands to approximately 3,000 native villages was slightly in excess of 15,000,000 acres, or the equivalent of approximately one-half of the crop acreage of Mexico at that time. Of this total 1,775,000 acres had been taken from foreigners, including 465,000 acres that had been taken from Americans. Agrarian bonds to the amount of only \$4,200,000 had been issued for land expropriated, and foreigners have claimed that these bonds did not represent the just value of the land.

The Calles immigration law which forbade the entrance of Roman Catholic nuns into Mexico was modified on Feb. 20 when orders were issued by the Department of the Interior to immigration authorities to permit the entry into Mexico of nuns of any creed. This, however, is contingent upon the nuns agreeing to comply with the religious

laws forbidding community or convent life.

An aftermath of the recent withdrawal by the Mexican and Soviet governments of their respective Ministers in Moscow and Mexico City was a raid by Mexican Secret Service agents on the Soviet legation in Mexico City on Feb. 9. Numerous legation papers were seized. Meanwhile, at Vera Cruz, Soviet Minister Makar was arrested and held for three hours, the diplomatic seals of his baggage were broken and a number of his documents were seized. These were ordered to be returned to him by Minister of Foreign Relations Estrada when he was advised of their seizure. When Makar reached Havana on Feb. 13 he gave vent in a public statement to his indignation over the incident at Vera Cruz.

Carleton Beals, well-known American author and publicist, was detained six hours on Feb. 14 at the headquarters of the Mexico City garrison. He is reported to have been questioned by military authorities, presumably in connection with a recent article of his that

was published in the United States, entitled, "Mexico and the Communists," in which he is said to have attacked the Mexican Government for its policy toward the Mexican Communist party and also to have attacked General Ortiz, commander of the Mexico City garrison, for his "arbitrary seizure of labor leaders in Tamaulipas and his brutal manner of railroading them out of the State."

The recommendation that necessary steps be taken to prevent the establishment and operation of games of chance was made to the Governors of all Mexican States by President Ortiz Rubio on Feb. 24.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—Political disaffection growing out of the announced intention of President Horacio Vásquez to stand for re-election in May and a determination to free the forthcoming elections from political juggling culminated during the last week of February in a successful revolutionary movement against the established government of the Dominican



MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Republic. The revolutionary movement began with dramatic suddenness in the northern part of the republic on Feb. 23, and within five days, with only a few skirmishes having occurred in the outlying sections, the insurgents were in practically complete control in the capital and in almost all parts of the country. Under the pressure of this movement, Vice President José Alfonsaca promptly resigned. On Feb. 24 President Vázquez took refuge temporarily in the old fortress of Santo Domingo. Two days later the President took refuge in the American legation where, on Feb. 27, conferences were held between representatives of the government and of the insurgents. The outcome was that on the following day President Vázquez signed a decree designating General Rafael Estrella Urena Secretary of State for the Interior. Under the Constitution he then became automatically Provisional President. At the same time President Vázquez, on the plea of ill health, asked the National Assembly for a permit to leave the Dominican Republic.

The new President took office on March 4 and appointed his Cabinet. Elias Brache Hijo became Minister of Foreign Affairs; General Antonio Jorge, National Defense; Señor Deserio, Agriculture; Señor Hernandez, Public Health. The Ministers of Finance, Justice and Public Works remained unchanged.

CUBA—The willingness of the Cuban Government to arbitrate the long-standing claims of Joseph E. Barlow, an American resident of Havana, arising from the alleged confiscation by the Cuban Government of property valued by Barlow at over \$9,000,000, was officially reported from Havana by United States Ambassador Guggenheim on Feb. 9. The Barlow claims for the past few years have been the subject of frequent diplomatic exchanges between the Departments of State of the United States and Cuba and of investigation by the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate. An agreement with the Cuban Government on

the method for investigating the Barlow claims is reported to have been sought by United States Ambassador Guggenheim for some time.

Officials of the Cuban Government and of the Chase National Bank, conferring at the Treasury Department in Havana, on March 6 closed the final transaction in the new \$80,000,000 loan to Cuba. The Cuban Government receives under the agreement an immediate credit of \$20,000,000.

COSTA RICA—That Costa Rica is facing a serious financial crisis was officially revealed in a public statement made early in February by Minister of Finance Juan Rafael Arias. For the current year the government's income is estimated at \$2,000,000 less than in 1929, while the current budget calls for an expenditure of \$1,400,000 more than last year. As a result, the Costa Rican treasury is confronted with the possibility of a deficit for 1930 of \$2,125,000. Failure of the government to secure in 1929 a loan of \$2,750,000 after contracts had been entered into by it for an extensive program of highway construction, together with the curtailment of operations in the banana industry by the United Fruit Company on the Caribbean coast and a lower market for coffee and cocoa—which are among the country's leading export crops—are credited with being responsible for the government's bad financial condition. A rigid policy of retrenchment was approved by President Cleto González.

NICARAGUA—The amount of 1918 Nicaraguan 5 per cent bonds that remain outstanding after the redemption of \$200,000 of such bonds in January of this year is \$1,600,000.

A contract between the Ministry of Public Works and the Tonopah Mining Company of Nevada granting to the company a twenty-five-year concession to exploit mineral deposits in the public lands of the Department of Prinzapolca received the approval of President Moncada on Feb. 16.

HAITI—The difficulties of the United States in Haiti, in view of many Haitian protests against the American occupation and the threat of a revolution if the election of President Borno, scheduled for April 14, were allowed to be held, are now on their way to settlement. The report of President Hoover's commission, sent to the President by wireless on March 7, recommended the restoration of representative government in Haiti as soon as possible under a plan already agreed to by President Borno. On March 9 it was announced that the President had wired back his approval in record time. Under the plan approved, the groups opposing the present government will choose delegates who will meet at Port au Prince to select a candidate for temporary President. This candidate will be neutral with respect to politics and acceptable to President Borno. The new President will then call popular elections for the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, dissolved under the American occupation. These elections are to be held in August, and the Legislature is to convene in September. Its first duty will be to elect a Constitutional President.

The commission which was appointed by President Hoover early in February to make a "thorough inquiry into our problems in Haiti," sailed for that country on Feb. 25 from Key West, Fla., on the U. S. S. Rochester. The commission was headed by W. Cameron Forbes, former Governor General of the Philippines, and included Henry P. Fletcher, Elie Vezina, James Kerney and William Allen White. It reached Port au Prince on Feb. 28 and was greeted by an orderly popular demonstration participated in by 5,000 Haitians, who carried banners that read: "We want legislative elections"; "No more High Commissioners." After calls upon Brig. Gen. John H. Russell,

High Commissioner in Haiti, and President Borno, the Hoover commission issued the following statement:

The offices of the commission will be open daily from 9 to 5 for receiving information and making appointments for those who care to appear in person before the commission. It is the desire of the commission that all elements of the Haitian people be heard freely and frankly.

Citizens who for any reason desire a private interview will be welcome and their communication will be treated as confidential. The commission will pursue the same course of hearing and interviews at other points in the republic. The purpose of the mission is to gather as completely as possible all the facts concerning the situation.

Two weeks of intensive sessions were devoted to hearings of the complaints and protests of prominent Haitians against the American occupation and the scheduled election. Among other protests was that made by the Catholic Church of Haiti, read by Archbishop Conan to all five American representatives on March 7.

Disorders following a memorial service in honor of the Haitians who were killed on Dec. 6 in a clash with a force of United States marines resulted in the arrest on Feb. 12 of thirty-one persons.

Minor disorders also occurred at Jacmel on March 6, where gendarmes, commanded by American marines, clashed with a hundred marching and singing youths demonstrating against the occupation.

An appeal for an American-supervised popular election of the Legislative Assembly of Haiti was contained in a message forwarded to President Hoover by the Haitian National League of Constitutional Action late in January. In the document the opposition side of the Haitian problem was outlined and protest was made against the alleged militaristic régime of President Borno, which was characterized as a social, economic and political failure.

SOUTH AMERICA

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND DEAN OF THE LOWER DIVISION, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

CONFIRMATION of the previously reported election of Dr. Enrique Olaya Herrera as President of Colombia, and electoral excitement in Brazil and Argentina overshadowed international events in South America during the month just past. Dr. Olaya Herrera, the first Liberal to be elected in Colombia since 1886, was nominated as a "National Concentration" candidate, his election being due in part at least to a division of Conservative and Clerical strength between Guillermo Valencia, the eminent poet and Senator, and Alfredo Vásquez Cobo, Minister to France. Practically complete returns announced on Feb. 21 showed the following results:

Enrique Olaya Herrera, Liberal...	372,844
Guillermo Valencia, Regular Conservative	251,073
Alfredo Vásquez Cobo, Independent Conservative	212,572
Alberto Castrillón, Revolutionary Socialist	416

The election presents a number of interesting features, one of which is the small vote received by the radical candidate, Señor Castrillón, a young man who was recently sentenced to twenty-five years' imprisonment for his part in the disorders attending the strike in the banana zone a year ago. Fear of "red" activity in Colombia seems to be effectively dispelled by Castrillón's poor run. Another feature is the apparent hearty acceptance by the Conservatives of the results of the election. This is undoubtedly due in part to Dr. Olaya's splendid record as Minister at Washington during three Conservative administrations, in part to the cordial friendship existing between him and his two Conservative rivals, and in part to the very real need of united efforts by patriotic Colombians to meet the pressing problems of an economic nature which the next ad-

ministration must undertake to solve. These include a decline of government revenues, a deficit of 27,000,000 pesos, an external debt of 225,000,000 pesos, a fall in the price of coffee, the main export commodity, unemployment and the discontinuance of public works forced by lack of revenue. Dr. Olaya will take office on Aug. 7, 1930.

Brazil held a Presidential election on March 1. At the time of writing the results were still in doubt, owing to slowness of returns from most of the provinces. Dr. Julio Prestes, the Republican (administration) candidate, was reported as leading in partial official returns (March 7), but Liberal newspaper calculations based upon expected results in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, of which the Liberal candidate, Dr. Getulio Vargas, was President until just before the election, seemed to indicate the election of the latter. The election was quiet, in contrast to the campaign that preceded it, which was marked by the attempted assassination of the present Vice President, Mello Vianna, followed by rioting in which several persons were killed.

The issue between the candidates was the administration program for stabilization of the milreis and the maintenance of coffee prices. While Senhor Vargas, the anti-administration candidate, was pledged to coffee valorization, he attacked the conduct of the Coffee Institute as not being in accord with the world economic situation.

No reports are yet available as to results of the elections of members of the Chamber of Deputies, the complete membership of which was to be elected, or of the Senate, one-third of whose members are replaced at each election.

The Argentine election on March 2 involved only the Chamber of Deputies, one-half of whose membership must be



SOUTH AMERICA

filled at this time. Here, too, the campaign was marked by disorders and several deaths. On Feb. 22 Manuel Ignacio Castellanos, a former Federal judge in San Juan province and a determined opponent of President Irigoyen, was reported murdered in his home, where he was recuperating from wounds received in a political skirmish. In Mendoza province, José Hipólito Lencinas, brother of the anti-Irigoyenist leader Carlos Washington Lencinas, who was assassinated several months ago, was arrested following a gun fight between the rival factions over the posting of political propaganda. Other deaths due to political clashes were reported, including six persons reported killed and twenty injured in riots on election day.

In contrast to the enthusiastic campaigning in Colombia and the excess of campaign emotion in Brazil and Argentina, the Congressional elections in Chile give every prospect of being extremely quiet. The five leading parties are reported to have agreed on a single list of candidates for Senate and House,

candidates being allotted, one to each district, in proportion to the relative strength of the parties. Under the electoral law, the consortium of political leaders may request that the Board of Elections declare the unopposed candidates elected, thereby saving the expense of election and incidentally preventing interference with harvesting activities.

In international affairs affecting South American countries the territorial dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay remains the question of the hour. On March 1 it was announced that the Bolivian reply to the tender of good offices made by the five neutral governments (Mexico, Cuba, Colombia, Uruguay and the United States) represented on the Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation which met in Washington last year, had been received, and on March 4 that Bolivia had accepted the proposal for a neutral commission. Paraguay had already accepted, and it was expected that arrangements for a meeting of the representatives of the five neutral nations in Washington would soon be under way.

ARGENTINA—In an editorial on Feb. 23, *La Nación* continued its attacks on President Irigoyen for his failure to appoint a diplomatic representative in Washington: "His obstinate refusal to designate an ambassador to Washington is an example of inexplicable remissness. The President is determined not to attribute importance to diplomatic representation, a fact made obvious by the government's passivity, as well as by its disdainful manner of treating foreign diplomatic representatives here."

Rosario has been suffering from renewed strikes among telephone and packing-house employees.

BOLIVIA—After a vote on Feb. 11 by labor organizations of La Paz in favor of a general strike, an agreement was reached by employers and employees providing for establishment

of the eight-hour day and improvement in working conditions.

BRAZIL—On Feb. 24 the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Federal Constitution was celebrated. All business was suspended in honor of the event.

The Ford Company continues to develop its concessions along the Tapajos River in Brazil. The land is being rapidly cleared and young rubber plants are being planted in the vicinity of Boa Vista. Houses for the employes have been constructed as well as a hospital with a capacity for 150 patients. In December the number of employes was 1,800.

The coffee situation in Brazil has a much better outlook than at any time since the crash in coffee prices, according to the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation, which states in its monthly commentary:

With the help of the Banco do Brazil and of a short term credit recently extended to the Sao Paulo government by a combined London and New York banking group, Sao Paulo is in a position to move its entire 1929-30 crop by making advances to farmers at approximately \$5 per bag.

CHILE—On Feb. 27, Señor Don Carlos G. Dávila, the Chilean Ambassador, deposited with the State Department three instruments of ratification by the Government of Chile: that of the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration, which had been signed at Washington on Jan. 5, 1929; that of the Protocol of Progressive Arbitration signed on the same day, and that of the International Radio Telegraph Convention and the General Regulations and the Supplementary Regulations, signed at Washington on Nov. 25, 1927.

It was announced on Feb. 24 that two members of the Chilean Cabinet, Minister of the Interior Bermúdez and Minister of Justice Koch, had resigned. Señor David Hermosillo, Mayor of Valparaíso, was summoned by President Ibáñez to form a new Cabinet. The outgoing Cabinet was formed in May, 1927, and reorganized in August, 1929.

There is no Cabinet head, though the Minister of the Interior has some of the functions of a Premier.

COLOMBIA—The Ministry of the Interior has ruled that any foreign corporation or partnership having investments in Colombia must pay the regular income tax on their holdings.

ECUADOR—The Ecuadorean Government has approved a ten-year contract with William F. Roddy, an American, for his services as customs adviser. Mr. Roddy is the only remaining member of the Kemmerer mission, which reorganized Ecuador's financial system several years ago.

Complaint because of the failure to pay interest on bonds placed abroad has brought out the fact that funds are available and are being deposited regularly by the government to meet interest payments, but that legislation by the last Assembly prevents payment. It is reported that the decree of suspension is looked upon as a means of securing advantageous refunding arrangements.

PERU—The second regular session of the Peruvian Congress closed on Feb. 9. The regular ninety-day session had been extended thirty days by President Leguía in order that Congress might assist him in his plans for financial reorganization. Among the measures approved were: Authorization for the government to borrow \$38,400,000 from Peruvian banks for irrigation and railroad construction; permission to issue \$7,200,000 in treasury bonds to cover the floating debt of the Ministry of Public Works; authorization for the President to pay off the remaining \$4,000,000 of the loan from Seligman & Co. of New York, with part of the proceeds of \$50,000,000 borrowed in New York; adoption of a new monetary unit, the gold sol, valued at 40 cents in United States currency, to replace the Peruvian pound, which had an exchange value of \$4.

Dr. Hernán Velarde, Ambassador

from Peru to the United States, sailed on March 7 for France, having resigned his post as Ambassador after serving in this country for six years.

On March 6 the new Peruvian Cabinet to serve during the Presidential term 1929-1934 was sworn in. Dr. Pedro Oliveira replaced Dr. José Rada y Gamio as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Pedro Angel Escalante became Minister of Justice. Otherwise the Cabinet remains unchanged.

VENEZUELA—The death during the past month of General José Vicente Gómez, eldest son of General Juan Vicente Gómez, ex-President of Venezuela and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, puts an end to inferences frequently made that a "Gómez dynasty" was to be created in Venezuela. In 1922 General Juan V. Gómez was re-elected President, his brother was elected First Vice President, and his son, General José Vicente, was elected Second Vice President. This gave rise to the feeling that an attempt was being made to secure succession in office for the Gómez

family. In 1923 the brother of the President was assassinated in the palace at Caracas, and about two years ago the President effected the resignation of his son in order, he said, to put at an end rumors of an attempt to establish a dynastic succession. Since that time, and until his death, the son had lived in Switzerland.

During the past year the United States supplied 67.6 per cent of the world production of crude oil, or 1,488,604,000 barrels, while Venezuela produced 137,000,000 barrels, or 9.2 per cent, thereby ranking second in world production.

PARAGUAY—The colony of German Mennonites established by Paraguay in the Chaco two years ago has apparently been a success. The colonists came from Western Canada. Further contingents from Prussia are on the way. Most of the Mennonites came originally from Russia, where their ancestors settled at the invitation of Catherine the Great. Their chief product in Paraguay had been cotton.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By *RALSTON HAYDEN*

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CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

DEFINITE PROGRESS toward the constitutional reorganization of the British Empire in accordance with the principles laid down by the Imperial Conference of 1926 is recorded in the report of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation which was published officially on Feb. 3.* This conference, composed of representatives of the several Dominions and of Great Britain, met in London in October, 1929. Its task was to ascertain the sentiment of the various self-governing members of the empire with reference to certain

existing laws which limit the legislative powers of the Dominions; and to present agreed statements of any alterations that should be made in the laws. The recommendations embodied in the report will be the basis for discussion and action by the next Imperial Conference, which Mr. MacDonald announced on Feb. 19 would be opened in London on Sept. 30, 1930.

The most important recommendations were that the present power of the Governor General to veto a bill passed by a Dominion Parliament upon instructions from the British Government, and the requirement that certain Dominion bills be reserved for the

*The report appeared as a White Paper, Cmd. 3947, price 9d.

royal signature, be abolished when so desired by any Dominion. The principles upon which this decision rests apply both to ordinary legislation and to constitutional amendments. They are stated as follows:

In cases where there is a special provision requiring the reservation of bills dealing with particular subjects, the position would in general fall within the scope of the doctrine that it is the right of the government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs, and that consequently it would not be in accordance with constitutional practice for advice to be tendered to his Majesty by his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in any matter appertaining to the affairs of a Dominion against the views of the government of that Dominion.

The same principle applies to cases where alterations of a Constitution are required to be reserved.

Indicating the methods by which the legal requirement of reservation may best be abolished, the report declared:

As regards the continued existence of the power of reservation, certain Dominions possess the power by amending their Constitutions to abolish the discretionary power and to repeal any provisions requiring reservation of bills dealing with particular subjects, and it is, therefore, open to those Dominions to take the prescribed steps to that end if they so desire.

As regards Dominions that need the co-operation of the Parliament of the United Kingdom in order to amend the provisions in their Constitutions relating to reservation, we desire to place on record our opinion that it would be in accordance with constitutional practice that if so requested by the Dominion concerned the government of the United Kingdom should ask Parliament to pass the necessary legislation.

The conference further recommended that the complete legislative independence of the Dominions be definitely recognized in other directions. It urged that the Parliament of the United Kingdom should pass a clear-cut declaratory enactment setting forth that the Parliament of a Dominion has full power to make laws having extraterritorial operation. "It follows from the Report of the Imperial Conference of 1926," the present report says, "that the old method, based as it was on the suprem-

acy of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, is no longer constitutionally appropriate." In future, no law made by the British Parliament should extend to any Dominion otherwise than at the request and with the consent of that Dominion.

Recognizing an equality of interest and authority between the several Dominions and Great Britain in the legal position of their common sovereign, the conference made the following recommendation:

Inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Again in accordance with the principles of the Balfour report, the conference finally recommended that all doubt as to the full power of Dominion Legislatures to enact laws relating to nationality and merchant shipping should be removed, and urged that the absence of authoritative centralized control over these and other subjects be compensated for by inter-imperial agreement.

The conference did not attract wide attention. It performed its work in comparative obscurity, thus affording an opportunity for the quiet and rational consideration of the problems laid before it. There seems little doubt, however, that the report issued on Feb. 3 will become an important document in the constitutional history of the new British Empire.

The Labor Government on Feb. 2 met and overcame a dreaded crisis in the passage of its coal bill through Parliament. By a vote of 280 to 271 this highly controversial measure was advanced through the committee stage and virtually assured of passage unless, meanwhile, the ministry falls upon some other issue. The Labor victory

Governor General, Viscount Willingdon. The address from the throne, in the main, avoided controversial political subjects and dwelt upon the national record of productive activity during the past year, and the gradual adjustment of various matters which have long been in dispute between the Dominion Government and the Provinces, including the return to the latter of certain natural resources, water power in relation to navigation, and financial adjustments.

As the session developed, it seemed evident that legislation prohibiting the clearance of liquor cargoes from Canadian for American ports, and the question of possible alterations in the tariff to offset American tariff changes would be the most important subjects to be considered. The first-named bill was introduced into the House of Commons by the government on March 5.

One of the early acts of the Senate was to receive into its membership the first woman to be appointed a Canadian Senator, the Honorable Cairine Rhea Wilson.

INDIA—The only important step taken by the Indian National Congress during the month was the authorization of Mahatma Gandhi, "and those working with him who believe in non-violence as an article of faith * * * to start civil disobedience as and when they desire, and in such manner and to the extent they decide."

On March 2 Gandhi made public his recent ultimatum delivered to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin. The ultimatum demands national independence and threatens to open the campaign within eight days if it is not granted.

Among other events bearing upon the current political situation is the anti-Congress, anti-violence campaign being conducted by Moslem organizations in various parts of India. A resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Central Moslem Federation expresses the opposition of these bodies to the revolt which Mr. Gandhi and his associates are fomenting.

A further set-back was given the

plans of the Congress by Mr. Patel, the president of the Indian Legislative Assembly, and other members of the Legislatures when they formally declined to resign at the behest of these bodies. Mr. Patel based his decision upon his conviction that his office should remain outside party activities and control.

AUSTRALIA—Communistic elements in the organized labor of Australia suffered a severe defeat on Feb. 27, when the Trades Union Congress foiled an attempt to renew affiliations with the Pan-Pacific Secretariat.

NEW ZEALAND—A Wellington message of March 1 stated that the New Zealand Seamen's Union has protested against the proposal to send military police to Samoa to cope with native unrest there.

An article describing the development of New Zealand will be found on pages 181-188 of this magazine.

SOUTH AFRICA—An alien quota bill which restricts to fifty the number of immigrants to be admitted annually from any country except twelve Nordic nations of Europe, the British Commonwealths and the United States was passed by the South African Assembly on March 4. The measure was designed to prevent the further increase of the East-European and Near Eastern population of the Union; it especially operates to check the inflow of Jews from Palestine.

On Feb. 26 steps were taken to bring South Africa into line with the other British Commonwealths in the matter of equal suffrage between the sexes. Premier Hertzog on March 3 introduced into the South African Assembly a bill to give women full voting rights in both the parliamentary and the local constituencies.

On Feb. 12 it was announced that the Earl of Clarendon had been appointed to succeed the Earl of Athlone as Governor General of South Africa. The Earl is chairman of the British Broadcasting Corporation and during the Conservative régime was Under-Secretary for Dominion Affairs.

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

By OTHON G. GUERLAC

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TWO MINISTRIES were overthrown and, for two weeks, both the Naval Conference in London and the discussion, already belated, of the budget, in Paris, were held up by the defeat and fall of the Tardieu Ministry on Feb. 17, on a vote of confidence over a relatively small provision in the finance bill. The opposing forces won by a majority of five (286 against 281). M. Tardieu, who had recently returned from London (Feb. 3), was then ill in bed.

On Feb. 24 the Chautemps Ministry which succeeded that of Tardieu and was composed exclusively of Radical Socialists and Radicals, was defeated on its first appearance by a vote of fifteen (292 against 277). Thus was illustrated the fact that, since the retirement of M. Poincaré, no man could be sure of a working majority in a Chamber almost evenly divided between the two main parties, the Left and the Right, with ten Communists always voting against the government.

While the fall of M. Tardieu may be explained by the absence on that fateful day of the dynamic personality of the Premier, other causes were operative that paved the way to the disaster. M. Chéron, the Finance Minister, true watchdog of the Treasury, had greatly antagonized a large body of Deputies, including the Finance Committee, by his stubborn resistance to a policy of thorough tax reduction and generous pensions, advocated by the Radicals desirous of using the handsome surplus in the Treasury. They characterized M. Chéron's overcautious policy as "niggardliness." On the other hand, M. Tardieu accentuated the partisan character of his majority support by inviting to a special meeting, where he gave a detailed report of his work, only representatives of the Parliamentary groups that had voted for his Cabinet.

This act was interpreted by the uninvited groups of the Left as a new proof that he identified himself decidedly with the Right. M. Camille Chautemps, the new leader of the Radical Socialists, in a speech delivered at Le Quesnoy, on Feb. 16, voiced the resentment felt by that party over the Premier's act, and intimated that it would join the Opposition. On the following day occurred the vote that defeated the three-month-old Ministry.

The choice of M. Camille Chautemps to succeed the government that he and his party had overthrown was quite in line with constitutional precedents. No other solution seemed possible. M. Chautemps, solicitous, however, not to interrupt any longer the Naval Conference, offered M. Tardieu all sorts of inducements to have him join his Ministry and go back to London. But M. Tardieu felt bound to the majority that had supported him; he refused, and M. Chautemps had to build his Cabinet on exclusively Radical-Socialist lines. That was its undoing.

The fall of the Chautemps Ministry on the day of its appearance is not a unique event in French Parliamentary history. It happened in 1914 to a Ribot Ministry; it happened, since the war, to M. François-Marsal, in June, 1924, and to Herriot in July, 1926. This time the refusal of the House to accept the Chautemps combination was a determined move on the part of the Conservatives, egged on by the moderate, nationalist and reactionary press, to block the way to the return of a Cabinet of the Cartel of the Left like the Herriot Ministry of 1924-25, which could not live without the support of the Socialists. To be sure there was nothing, either in the personnel of the Cabinet or in its platform, to justify so sweeping a rebuff. It contained several men who have been many times Ministers—

Briand, Steeg, Albert Sarraut, Loucheur, René Besnard, Daladier and Laurent Eynac. Its platform was not different from many other platforms. As for the Premier, M. Camille Chautemps, he is a young Radical of moderate tendencies and distinguished merit who was Minister of the Interior under Herriot. But the very fact that this Cabinet came before a House with the stamp of the "Cartel des Gauches," which is held responsible for the collapse of French finances in 1926, and was in alliance with the Socialists, doomed it to immediate defeat. This vote, which took the form of a revenge for the defeat of M. Tardieu, whose name was acclaimed by his party in the Chamber and by partisans outside, has embittered to the danger point the relations between the Left and the Right parties.

When M. Tardieu was then urged by M. Doumergue, still in accordance with Parliamentary procedure, to accept the task of forming a new Ministry, he met in his turn with the uncompromising refusal of all members of the Radical-Socialist party in spite of the concessions that he was willing to make. M. Herriot, to whom he offered the Vice Presidency of the Cabinet, was not permitted by his party to accept. M. Caillaux refused likewise, and so did M. Painlevé.

Thus the Ministry formed by Tardieu on March 2 was as far from the concentration formula as his first Ministry had been. The list is as follows:

ANDRÉ TARDIEU—Premier and Interior.
ARISTIDE BRIAND—Foreign Affairs.
RAOUL PERET—Justice.
ANDRÉ MAGINOT—War.
J. L. DUMESNIL—Marine.
PAUL REYNAUD—Finance.
GERMAIN MARTIN—Budget.
PIERRE MARRAUD—Public Instruction.
FRANÇOIS PIETRI—Colonies.
PIERRE-ÉTIENNE FLANDIN—Commerce.
FERNAND DAVID—Agriculture.
ANDRÉ MALLARME—Posts and Telegraphs.
LAURENT EYNAC—Air.
CHAMPETIER DE RIBES—Pensions.
GEORGES PERNOT—Public Works.
LOUIS ROLLIN—Merchant Marine.
PIERRE LAVAL—Labor.

The presence of M. Briand is almost the only concession to the sentiments of the Left. Three omissions are no-

ticeable; M. Chéron, cause of the downfall; Leygues, Minister of the Navy, and Loucheur, so often Minister of Labor, and who had accepted a portfolio with M. Chautemps, were dropped. M. Leygues's position was given to M. Dumesnil, one of the few Radical-Socialists who were willing to join this Ministry of the Right, and who, with four other members, two Senators and two Deputies, was expelled from his group. Former Minister of the Navy under Herriot, he is a recognized naval authority. The task of steering the ill-fated national insurance bill through Parliament is now, in the absence of Loucheur, assigned to Senator Laval, Minister of Labor, a good lawyer and former Socialist of the Briand variety, who has had Ministerial experience. As for the portfolio of finances it was handed to M. Paul Reynaud, the brilliant Deputy of the Centre, who was the spokesman of the majority that upset M. Chautemps, an extremely resourceful and ardent propagandist, who has played a very active part in all debates. With the secretaryships, one of which is a new creation devoted to Tourism, this Ministry counts thirty-four members.

It is not the Ministry that M. Tardieu wished to form. But in view of the strained relations in the Republican family, a concentration Ministry, according to a formula often tried in the past, could be successful only with a man who was not, like him, an aggressive party man committed, in the eyes of his opponents, to what they call a policy of reaction. He will, therefore, have to carry on, as he did before, with the support of a majority where the Radicals see many members who are not Republicans at heart, and many more who are not in sympathy with the main ideas that constitute, in the general estimation, a true Republican, i. e., the policy of secularization, the attitude toward religious orders, and a foreign policy based on a genuine trust in the League of Nations.

M. Tardieu had asked of his Radical opponents a truce of three months to settle the external problems. They did



FRANCE AND BELGIUM

not grant it to him. The Premier newly restored to power received a majority of fifty-three on his first encounter on March 5 (316 against 263), but only time will tell if that majority will remain faithful to him. In his declaration, which precipitated a stormy debate, he trimmed his sails to the recent adverse winds by enlarging ideas for tax reduction. His naval policy remained the same with some indications of flexibility in order to relieve the tension at the conference. The paramount issues were described as execution of the Young plan, adoption of social insurance "on which all parties are agreed," political amnesty laws, and above all the speedy passage of the budget.

On March 6, amid cheers and laughter, the Chamber resumed work on the finance bill interrupted by the fall of the Tardieu government. The new Minister of the Budget announced amid applause from the Left that the government was in full accord with the Finance Commission.

Destructive floods swept over eight departments of Southern and Central France in the early days of March. The loss of life is estimated at 500 and the damage at 1,000,000 francs.

There have been of late ominous

signs of unrest in French Indo-China. The murder of a recruiting officer in Tonkin and the prosecution, before a specially constituted court, of eighty-five natives on the ground of conspiracy were followed, on Feb. 10, by a serious attack on the entrenched camp of Yen Bay. Two hundred native soldiers accompanied by sixty civilians attacked the fortified camp of Yen Bay, killing ten men, among whom were five officers, and wounding eleven. The situation was soon under control. The government considers these spasmodic disorders as the results of "revolutionary propaganda of foreign origin," which is a euphemism for Russian communism. The Chamber of Deputies had several opportunities to discuss this problem, and the causes were attributed by the Socialists to an illiberal handling and, by the conservatives, to a lax treatment of the natives.

Representatives of the American automobile industry presented their grievances against the impending tariff bill before the Tariff Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, and submitted figures to show that the increases proposed would make it impossible for them to compete with the national industries. While the French automobile interests are pressing hard for the proposed rates, the American officials are trying to avert a Franco-American tariff controversy. The French Government seems inclined to follow a policy that will avoid extremes in both directions.

BELGIUM—The month of February was occupied by a long debate, in which the principal speakers of all parties participated, on the new language law which is to regulate some of the questions which divide the Belgians who speak French, namely the Walloons, and the Belgians who speak Flemish, the inhabitants of Flanders and Northern Belgium. The discussion centred around the bill, presented by the government and passed by the "sections" (committees) of the House, providing that the University of Ghent become an entirely Flemish institution.

According to the law of 1923, regulating the language question, some of the courses of Ghent were bilingual, while those in the Engineering School were given either in French or in Flemish, according to the preference or the native tongue of the students. This part of the new law was voted by the Parliament on Feb. 27, Catholics, Liberals and Socialists, Walloons and Flemish having come to an agreement on that point at least.

Many other linguistic problems dealing with primary schools and the requirements for public office, in both sections of the country, were likewise discussed. While the law provides also that Flemish territories must be administered by Flemish-speaking officials and Walloon territory by French speaking officials, the high officials

must be bilingual. Premier Jaspar, in his speech on the law, asked for a certain patience in the case of Walloon officials, who will, in his estimation, have some difficulty in learning Flemish. He stated that one could not expect a Walloon to be able to read a document in Flemish before some time within the first twenty years of his office. The reverse does not seem to be true of the Flemish, since the educated ones all know French. Meanwhile the Flemish part of the population greeted with enthusiasm the voting of the law, which realizes a long-felt aspiration. In Parliament the linguistic question was treated in a more conciliatory spirit than previously, and even the Walloons made no objection to this concession to the national pride of their Flemish fellow-citizens.

THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

GERMAN AFFAIRS, both political and economic, for the past month have followed almost entirely the dictates of the problem of ratification of the reparations agreements. The climax of the various disputes was reached on March 7 with the resignation as President of the Reichsbank of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht. Dr. Schacht's action was in line with his policy as stated at the Paris reparations conference of last year and was, partially, the result of the government's opposition to his stand at the recent Hague Conference. His reason for resignation, as reported in the papers, was that he felt he could not accept, as President of the Reichsbank, the responsibility for the Young plan at it was now constituted. His successor, former Chancellor Dr. Hans Luther, was elected president of the Reichsbank on March 11.

Dr. Schacht's resignation, as an effective protest against the ratification of the Young plan, which has been approved in committee discussions, could not have been presented at a more pertinent time, or at one more embarrassing

to the government forces. The Young plan had already had one reading before the Reichstag, having previously been approved by the Reichsrat on Feb. 5. A second reading on March 11 received approval by a vote of 251 to 174. Dr. Schacht's move, although it was not expected seriously to affect the final vote on the Young plan, has furnished strength to opposition parties of the Right and to those parties in the government coalition which have been demanding discussion of the budget and financial reforms before final consideration of the reparations bills. This opposition within the government coalition has come chiefly from the Centrist party, whose members opposed ratification, not on the grounds of the Young plan per se, but on the grounds of being unable to support the agreements until acquaintance with the financial plans of Finance Minister Moldenhauer assured them of government ability to meet the payments.

Discussion in the Reichstag of the reparations agreements—which include the Young plan, the liquidation



GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

of the United States debts, and the liquidation of the German-Polish debts—opened on Feb. 11 with a statement of the government's position by Dr. Curtius, Foreign Minister. His declaration was answered by a statement of the opposition stand, which differed little from previous statements, by the chairman of the Nationalist party, Dr. Hugenberg, whose "Liberty Law" recently met such inglorious defeat. The appearance in the Reichstag of Dr. Hugenberg—the first since his appointment as chairman—caused considerable comment, and the debate opened with sharp discussion and some bitter feeling between parties.

The five laws and 119 treaties making up the reparations agreements were then referred for examination to the Committee on Foreign Relations and the main budget committee, whose final report was supposedly due in the Reichstag on Feb 25 but which actually had not been made at the end of the first week in March.

While the Young plan was in committee the question of the budget, plans for which were based on the new reparations accord, came up before the Cabinet. Finance Minister Moldenhauer faced the drawing up of a budget for the fiscal year starting April 1, 1930, with a deficit of 700,000,000 marks (\$168,000,000) and the necessity of convincing the government coalition that the country would be able to

meet the Young plan demands. At one time, in view of Centrist demands, it was feared that this finance reform, which had to pass the Reichstag before the end of March, would hold up ratification of the reparations agreements. The tension in the Cabinet, caused by budget difficulties, was further increased by President Hindenburg's approval of a plan for a single income tax levy in connection with unemployment insurance—a special levy on incomes of \$2,016 or more. This the People's party categorically opposed, threatening to withdraw from the government coalition. A crisis was averted on March 3 by a postponement of the income tax problem and a return to discussion of the budget. The crisis was finally ended on March 5 with an agreement on financial reforms which seemed to meet the demands of the Centrist, Socialist and German People's parties. Moldenhauer's program consisted, in effect, of increased taxes on beer, coffee, tea, mineral waters, gas and benzol, which would yield new revenues of \$110,000,000, a proviso whereby the expenditures of 1931 are not to exceed those of the coming year, thus insuring a reduction in taxes, income and industrial, and an agreement on unemployment insurance, which had been one of the chief sources of budgetary deficits and one of the chief points of contention. The plan that the government should abandon all contribution to unemployment insurance, which the Socialists had opposed in view of the acute unemployment situation, has not been adopted, nor has the plan for an emergency "sacrifice fund," the single income tax levy, which was opposed as a form of direct taxation by the People's party and desired by the Socialists, been adopted. A final compromise was made which to a certain extent satisfied the demands of both parties. The \$62,500,000 which the Unemployment Insurance Institute requires of the government is to be raised partly by the sale of German railway company preference shares, partly by a $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent increase in the cost of insurance fees to employers

and workers, and partly by drawing on the special reserve funds of the Bank for Industrial Obligations, which was founded under the Dawes plan.

The delay of two weeks in discussion of the reparations plans aroused a great part of the nation, and considerable sentiment was expressed, particularly by leading industrialists and bankers, that the Young plan be disposed of as rapidly as possible. There was, however, never any real doubt but that the government would have an ample majority in the Reichstag; nor did Dr. Schacht's resignation give this majority any real setback, although it received strong criticism for coming at a time which made it appear an "inglorious flight from responsibility."

While the reparations plans were still in committee in the Reichstag, Andrew Mellon, United States Secretary of the Treasury, and President Hoover submitted to the United States Congress the approved plan for final settlement of the German debt. The bill, execution of which would be conditional upon the putting into operation of the Young plan, provides for the final fulfillment of obligations on the part of Germany, under the terms of the armistice convention, "to pay to the United States the cost of the United States Army of Occupation and the awards made in favor of the United States Government and its nationals by the Mixed Claims Commission." The plan, as submitted, provides for the allocation of some 40,800,000 marks annually for fifty-two years to the Mixed Claims Commission, plus an average annuity of 25,300,000 marks for the first thirty-seven years for the cost of the American Army of Occupation.

Communist agitation, with the approach of March 6, and the continued acuteness of the unemployment situation, increased during February to reach its climax on the anniversary of the founding of the Third International. More propaganda and plans for Red parades were found in documents seized in raids on Communist headquarters

in Berlin. Actual demonstrations on March 6 caused little excitement and there was comparatively little rioting, although police were necessary to guard Red parades. On March 8 Minister of Defense Groener issued a communiqué warning of the dangers of a Communist uprising. He said in part: "The Communists believe that the time has come to overthrow State and society. They see the undermining of the State's defense forces as the first important task."

Grand Admiral Alfred P. Friedrich von Tirpitz died on March 6. Admiral Tirpitz, known as the "father of the German Navy," was famous as one of the dominant nationalists and imperialists and as the sponsor of the submarine campaign during the war.

AUSTRIA—Official recognition of a rapprochement between Austria and Italy was given in the visit of the Austrian Chancellor, Johann Schober, to Premier Mussolini during the first week of February. The visit was concluded by the signing of a pact of amity between Austria and Italy. The pact, which is considered one of the most notable events in Austrian foreign policy for some years, is a treaty of friendship and conciliation and provides for the judicial settlement of disputes between the two nations. The treaty has received considerable comment from all the nations which are neighbors of Austria; those Germans who have considered that *Anschluss* between Austria and Germany should be the sole aim of Austrian foreign policy view the treaty as a block in the path of union, although Herr Schober's subsequent visit to Berlin was reassuring; Yugoslavs oppose the pact as the completion of the encirclement of Yugoslavia; Hungarians accept it as the refusal of Austria to join the Little Entente, and the Southern Tyrol, which is now Italian territory, and of which no mention was made in the treaty, views it as the abandonment of any hope of that land being rejoined to Austria.

M. K. M.

SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND ITALY

By *ELOISE ELLERY*

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INTEREST IN SPAIN during the past month has centred around the results of the resignation of Primo de Rivera and of the appointment of a new Premier, General Berenguer. Would the monarchy survive? Or would it be overthrown and a republican form of government take its place? Further, what bearing would the general amnesty, granted in the name of the King on behalf of his Council of Ministers, have on the situation? This amnesty, announced on the first anniversary of the death of the Queen Mother, Maria Christina, affected all who had been prosecuted, imprisoned or exiled for political reasons, not only during Rivera's dictatorship but since Alfonso became King. The decree deals with offenses of wide range, from major offenses of rebellion or sedition to the marriage of army officers without permission, or the violation of censorship regulations. The inclusion of the last type of offenders led to the hope for greater freedom of thought in general. Indeed, the directors of Madrid newspapers received the Premier's assurance that there would be some relaxation of the censorship immediately and more as soon as circumstances warranted.

One result of these changes has been a great increase in political discussion. There is also apparently an increasing movement in favor of a republic, though it is difficult to say whether republicanism itself has increased, or whether it is only that it has come out into the open and is more freely reported. For instance, a Socialist manifesto issued by the central committee of the party says that "Berenguer represents the same order which Primo de Rivera did. We are opposed to the nightmare of monarchy." It continues as follows:

"The government presided over by General Berenguer does not differ essentially from that presided over by General Primo de Rivera, either in its origin, or in its significance, or in the possibilities upon which it is counting to realize its plans.

"It is true that the government of General Berenguer was preceded by vague announcements of the re-establishment of constitutional normality and the restoration of the public liberties suspended by the dictatorship. Notwithstanding this, experience has made us justly mistrustful.

"It is not necessary for us to recall much in the history of the Spanish monarchy in order to give a basis for our mistrust. It is sufficient to remind our fellow-citizens of the showy program of liberal and democratic reforms with which the present reign began and to follow the course of the evolution of Spanish politics until the present critical moment, in order to justify completely our contempt for this new and burlesque attempt to divert the attention of the people from the real problems of Spanish politics, while holding this attention with fictions sufficiently well known even by the more naïve and less perspicacious section of public opinion.

"General Berenguer, elected in the same way as General Primo de Rivera, is the symbol of the Spain which is degenerating in a painful process of decomposition. Facing this Spain there is another Spain full of vitality, with which we completely identify ourselves, and in which we repose the whole of our faith and confidence."

This statement has decided significance in view of the possible elections, and of an alliance with non-Socialist Republicans.

Republican interests are also strength-

ened by the return of Señor Unamuno, the exiled rector of the University of Salamanca and one of the foremost Spanish intellectuals. Profiting by the amnesty, he crossed the frontier into Spain on Feb. 9, declaring that he wished "to resume his place in the ranks of the Republicans." On Feb. 22 the return from exile of the student leader, Antonio Maria Sbert, was attended by a tumultuous demonstration, in the course of which there was much shouting "Down with the King and the monarchy! Down with the new Dictatorship!"

A more serious demonstration, in which rioters and police clashed, occurred in Madrid on Feb. 27, when Señor Guerra, the former Premier, made a speech in which he bitterly attacked the present monarch. "When Alfonso XII died neither I nor any one else thought the monarchy could continue in Spain," he declared.

"By her strict constitutionality, however, Maria Christina won the country to her support, as did King Alfonso for the same reason during the early years of his reign. But Alfonso sacrificed his rights by instituting a dictatorship which, while not bloodthirsty, was cruel in what it did to the men it oppressed. When I was a young man I favored the monarchy. Now I can see youth and events moving toward a republic."

Meanwhile a new alignment of political parties is taking place. According to one writer, "the Radicals do not know how radical they care to be, and the Conservatives do not know how conservative they can afford to be." The Count de Bugallal, who, in opposition to Guerra, defended the monarchy on March 6, has been named as the leader of a right wing Conservative party, with its goal a limited monarchy and the end of all dictatorship. Señor Francisco Cambo is also looked upon as a leader who stands for conservative principles and who has the support of the industrialists, while Señor Unamuno has a republican following.

The outbursts attending political dissensions between the various factions

of extremists and moderates were used as arguments by the authorities for going slowly in permitting political propaganda.

Other disorders of political or economic origin have disturbed the new Ministry. On Feb. 7 university students at Seville demanded the retirement of the municipal administration because it was composed of appointees of the former Dictator. On Feb. 12 a procession of laborers, belonging mostly to the building trades, marched through the streets of Madrid to the royal palace demanding work. This demonstration was followed the next day by serious food riots, while other disturbances were reported from different parts of Spain. Further difficulties were encountered by the government in the failure of compulsory arbitration in a strike at Sagunto, although on March 5 it was announced that a settlement was in sight. The workers refused to treat with the representative sent by the Minister of Public Works to adjust matters, and decided instead to send their representatives to Madrid to deal directly with the government.

In the midst of this turmoil, which is increased by a feeling of doubt among the people as to what Berenguer's policy really is, the new Ministry continued its work of reorganization. The sub-Ministries were reformed, the personnel changed and many of Primo de Rivera's supporters ousted. The Duke of Alba, the distinguished patron of art who was first appointed as Minister of Education, was made Minister of State, a post which had been abolished under the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, and is now re-established. Señor Elias Tormo was selected to fill his place.

On Feb. 15 the King signed a decree definitely abolishing the National Consultative Assembly, the powerless body created by Primo de Rivera. The King also signed a decree making all promotions in the army the result of seniority, and ending the objectionable practice of making promotions by favoritism. While the King was reorganizing the army the Premier gave attention



The Mediterranean, showing the position of Italy and Spain

to the provincial governments, appointing civil governors in most of the fifty-two provinces of Spain, and providing for provincial delegations largely in the hands of Conservatives.

Miguel Primo de Rivera, second son of the former Dictator, has been expelled from Spain by the Berenguer Government. He was ordered deported to France, it was officially explained, to prevent his fighting duels with army officers in Madrid who, he said, had insulted his father.

On Feb. 21, the Council of Ministers took action to suspend the importation of foreign wheat. Agricultural associations and the press asserted that the imports were injuring the domestic market and demanded action.

PORTUGAL—The new Portuguese Cabinet is especially concerned with financial reforms. These include projects for stabilization of the currency, consolidation of the floating debt, conversion of the internal debt and maintenance of budget equilibrium. There is, however, growing opposition to Dr. Salazar, the Minister of Finance, and it is openly stated that "he is bankrupting the country for the sake of filling the nation's coffers."

The inauguration of an international police between Elvas in Portugal and Badajoz in Spain was made the occasion of a formal celebration and the exchange of solemn promises between

Spain and Portugal to live in perpetual peace.

ITALY—Several anniversaries connected with the Vatican were celebrated during the past month. On Feb. 6 was commemorated the election of the Pope, and on Feb. 11, the first anniversary of the signing of the Lateran treaties by the Holy See and the Italian Government. All Rome was decked in flags in honor of the day, and the government took the occasion to present to the Pope a beautiful surplice in connection with the commemoration of his golden jubilee on the following day. The celebration of the latter was marked by a solemn service held in the Sistine Chapel attended by the Pope and a large number of Cardinals and high church dignitaries. According to custom, mass was celebrated by the first Cardinal created by the reigning Pontiff. In a special tribune was King Gustaf of Sweden, while other tribunes were occupied by members of the diplomatic corps accredited to the Vatican, wearing full uniform, the Knights of Malta and members of the Roman aristocracy.

An evidence of the closer relations between the Papacy and the Italian Government was the private audiences given by the Pope to Signor Augusto Turati, secretary of the Fascist party, and a few days later to Signor Luigi Federzoni, president of the Italian Sen-

ate. It was the first time that any Pontiff had accorded an audience to the president of the Senate of United Italy.

On Feb. 10, it was officially announced that the Pope had accepted the resignation tendered several weeks ago by Cardinal Gasparri as Papal Secretary of State. [See article on page 53.] Cardinal Pacelli was appointed as his successor.

Within the last two months three notable Cardinals have died—Cardinal Gamba, the Archbishop of Turin; Cardinal Perosi, Secretary of the Consistorial Congregation, and on Feb. 26, Cardinal Merry del Val, a Spaniard and a former Papal Secretary of State. The last named had had a long career as a diplomat and is remembered as representing a modern point of view in things material, but an extreme reactionary view in matters of policy. These recent deaths reduce the number of Cardinals to sixty, of whom twenty-eight are Italians and thirty so-called foreign Cardinals.

In the matter of women's dress, the Pope has taken a decidedly conservative attitude, on several occasions hav-

ing condemned current feminine fashions as indecent and tending to immorality, and finally putting his criticism in the form of definite instructions to Catholic authorities throughout the world.

A notable event in Italy's foreign policy is the conclusion of a ten-year treaty of arbitration with Austria. There are no economic clauses in the treaty, but experts of both countries are reported to be engaged in negotiating a trade agreement intended to further commercial relations between the two countries. Neither is any mention made of the Southern Tyrol question, which Italy considers a purely internal problem. Announcement, however, was made on Feb. 21 that Premier Mussolini had pardoned all German-speaking Italian subjects from the Upper Adige who were imprisoned or "admonished" for political offenses. The news is the first tangible evidence of Italo-Austrian rapprochement.

It is reported that after nearly six months' desert warfare, Italian troops have occupied the Ghat oasis in the Sahara and control the plain of Tripoli.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

By *FREDERIC A. OGG*

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AT THE END OF January, Dr. Edouard Benes returned home from The Hague Reparations Conference to find himself bitterly criticized for what he had failed to achieve. It was complained that Czechoslovakia must pay, under the head of "liberation," as though she were a vanquished, not a victor, country; the term "liberation payment" was denounced as humiliating; and a Cabinet crisis which would cost the eminent Foreign Secretary his portfolio seemed by no means improbable.

The situation was eased after M. Benes delivered in the Chambers on

Jan. 30 an exposé, occupying two and a half hours, convincingly explaining what had taken place and demonstrating that no other emissary could have accomplished more. The speaker denied reports spread in sections of the foreign press that the cordial relations binding Czechoslovakia to the Little Entente and France had for a consequence the alienation of friendly sentiments previously prevailing in Great Britain and Italy. He further argued that, contrary to a good deal of opinion at home, his foreign policy, taken as a whole, was not having the effect of weakening the country's international



EASTERN EUROPE AND THE
BALKANS

position. Notwithstanding that, on certain purely financial matters, Great Britain, Italy and even France, had at times opposed the Czechoslovak policy, "our political position at The Hague," he contended, "was stronger than ever. The very fact of the Little Entente asserting its point of view with such a solidarity and vigor as it never had the opportunity to show before inspired respect everywhere. Our unity of views, plans and aims was absolute, and the cooperation of the three States was exemplary . . . There were moments when all the great powers unreservedly supported the Czechoslovak point of view." The ten years of foreign policy of Czechoslovakia—for which M. Benes had been primarily responsible—was declared, in summary, to have been proved at The Hague completely justified.

M. Benes's powerful defense came al-

most simultaneously with an announcement by President Masaryk that he intends to stay in office until the end of his term. The President celebrated his eightieth birthday on March 7, and there had been rumors that he considered that event an appropriate occasion to retire from public life. It has long been an open secret that M. Masaryk hopes to be succeeded in office by the co-founder of the republic, the Foreign Minister; and gossip has it that he would have resigned long ago if he could have felt certain that his wishes in this regard would be carried out. It seemed reasonable to believe that the President's announcement of his present intention was timed to carry M. Benes over the critical days following his return from The Hague. The Foreign Secretary's enemies concede that if he had confined his activities to international affairs, without mixing in domestic politics, he would probably be occupying the Presidential chair today.

Three notes were presented at the middle of February to the Czechoslovak Government by the Hungarian Minister, M. Masirevich, protesting against newspaper attacks on the Hungarian Regent, Admiral Horthy, the tenth anniversary of whose regency was at the time being celebrated in Hungary. The attacks accused Admiral Horthy of inspiring the murder ten years ago of Bela Somogyi, Socialist editor, who fills for Central European Socialists the same rôle as Matteotti in Italy.

RUMANIA—Official returns show that in the municipal elections of Feb. 6 Premier Mănuș's National Peasant party won 1,833 seats, or 82 per cent of the total. The Liberals, led by the former Premier, Brătianu, secured only 316, and various minor parties 80. Results in county elections ran on similar lines. In times past no political party in Rumania has ever been able to keep the Liberals out of power for long. The Peasant party, however, has now been in office more than a year; and the results of the recent local elections indicate that it will continue in-

definitely in control of national, as well as municipal and county, affairs. Apparently, the peasants stand as one man behind the Maniu régime, and with the country's population 80 per cent agricultural, the chances of a recovery of their former preponderance by the Liberals are slender.

Replying to a three-hour speech by ex-Premier Bratianu charging that the present government is "bolshevizing" the country, undermining the authority of the dynasty and militarizing the youth, M. Maniu has declared that, on the contrary, it has introduced a constitutional régime, abolished press censorship and martial law, stabilized the currency, reorganized public administration, restored confidence abroad, and, through the new organization of the youth of the party, has taken long-needed steps toward civic education of the peasant masses.

Press dispatches of Feb. 20 reported that the concentration of Soviet military forces along the western frontier of Russia during previous weeks had aroused grave apprehension in Rumania for the safety of Bessarabia. A calming communiqué was issued by Premier Maniu, but the Soviet massing of strength was taken seriously enough by France and Poland to lead both to warn Bucharest of the extent of the concentration. The British Government refused to construe the preparations as evidence of hostile intent. At Bucharest it was thought by some that the Soviet Government was merely guarding the border in order to prevent Ukrainian farmers from taking flight to other lands.

Count von Hochberg was informed on March 5 that his engagement to Princess Ileana was dissolved.

POLAND—Two valuable months out of the five regularly allotted to debates on the annual budget were lost in the crisis resulting from the invasion of the Sejm lobbies by armed officers at the opening on Oct. 31 and from the resignation of Casimir Switalski's "Colonels' Cabinet," defeated in the Sejm in December. Nevertheless, under

the improved conditions brought in with Premier Bartel's Cabinet, rapid and effective work was done, and on Feb. 12 the budget was passed by an unexpectedly wide margin. Until the last, it was rumored that the government bloc might in the end vote against its own budget, from which the Opposition had removed secret funds amounting to several million zloty earmarked for use by the dictator, Marshal Pilsudski, and Foreign Minister Zaleski. Apprehensions on this score did not, however, materialize. The budget thereupon went to the Senate to be confirmed before the beginning of the new fiscal year, April 1.

Although there was fear that Marshal Pilsudski would send the members home once the budget was passed, as he did last year, it was generally felt that the Sejm's reputation had risen, and also that the Bartel Ministry was likely to continue for a year or two, particularly if it succeeded in finding some way of relieving the current industrial depression.

On Feb. 24—shortly after the tenth anniversary of Poland's regaining access to the sea—the Warsaw Government announced that it had acquired three steamships from the Baltic-American Line, which will maintain regular service between the recently constructed Polish port of Gdynia and New York and Canada.

Alexander Moore, Ambassador Designate to Poland, died in February; John N. Willys of Elmira, N. Y., was appointed in his stead and confirmed. President Hoover received the new Polish Ambassador, Tytus Filipowicz, on March 4.

HUNGARY—Foreign Minister Benes was not the only delegate to The Hague Reparations Conference who had to do some lively explaining when he returned home. Premier Bethlen was compelled to face a Chamber so censorious and uproarious that he, indeed, could hardly find an opportunity to explain. Led by the Socialists, the Opposition charged that the government had sacrificed Hungarian finances in the

interest of some 350 wealthy landowners (including the Premier himself), hooted at the contention that the amounts which the nation had agreed to pay were not reparations but other obligations instead, and insisted that war invalids, war widows and war orphans had more claim to consideration than "the counts." The government weathered the storm, but not without grave difficulty and considerable loss of prestige.

On Feb. 15 the Premier introduced in the Lower House a resolution in connection with the proposal to celebrate Regent Horthy's tenth anniversary, expressing the nation's thanks for the services rendered by the man who carried out the most brilliant Austrian naval action in the war, became commander of the Austrian fleet, rescued his country from bolshevism, repelled two attempts of the Emperor Carl to gain the throne of Hungary, and retired into the background when parliamentary government resumed its sway. The Regent having refused to let the country mark the occasion by spending money on him, it is, instead, to be commemorated by the construction of a number of public works, such as a new Danube bridge, a Budapest X-ray institute for cancer treatment, war hospitals and convalescent homes, all of which will be named for the Regent. Fifty thousand marchers demonstrated at Budapest to celebrate the anniversary. Amnesty for minor offenses against military and civil laws was proclaimed.

On Feb. 17 the Regent pardoned Baron Lajos Hatvany, one of the wealthy supporters of Count Michael Karolyi's short-lived Hungarian Republic. After living seven years in exile, the Baron returned to Hungary a little more than a year ago on erroneous information concerning his status and stepped straight into a prison cell in Budapest.

General de Janky, Commander-in-Chief of the army, was unexpectedly relieved of his command on March 5. The removal is attributed to the new Minister of War Gömbös, as a step to clear-

ing the army of Habsburg adherents.

Hungary, during March, as a result of the settlement of the reparations problem, began negotiations for a non-aggression pact with Yugoslavia and established closer relations with Rumania. Negotiations to settle differences with Czechoslovakia were under way also.

BULGARIA—Municipal and county elections held on Feb. 16 resulted in an overwhelming victory for the government party. They were marked, however, by disorders in several towns, springing from resentment by the Agrarians of use of the gendarmerie to produce a majority by coercion. In the village of Godovarem, two election agents of the government were slain.

Vassail Poundiff, editor of the Macedonian newspaper *Vardar*, and a companion were assassinated in Sofia on March 4. He was the leader of a bitter fight between Macedonian factions. On the same day a bomb was exploded by Macedonian revolutionaries at the Serbian frontier town Pierot, which killed one person and injured twenty-five.

GREECE—The keystone of the foreign policy of the present Venizelos Ministry is peace with Turkey. In explaining the government's naval policy to the Chamber of Deputies on Feb. 11, the Premier asserted not only that Greece wishes good relations with all the world, particularly Turkey, but that Turkey today is eminently pacific, and is also so nationalistic that she has no interest in seeking non-Turkish territory. Indeed, he reported a conversation with Ismet Pasha during the Lausanne Conference in which that spokesman of the new Turkey assured him that if all of the Balkan countries were to offer to restore, of their own free will, those parts of their territories formerly belonging to European Turkey, Angora would reject the offer. Passages were read from the secret Greek archives substantiating the argument.

On Feb. 24 the Turkish Minister called on M. Venizelos and assured him

that Premier Ismet Pasha and Foreign Minister Tewfik Rusdi Bey would be happy to negotiate a friendship treaty personally with the Greek statesman. Such a treaty can be concluded readily, it was pointed out, because there are at present no differences between the two countries. M. Venizelos signified his intention, already announced on an earlier occasion, to visit Angora soon for the purpose. Meanwhile, Parliament furnished a lead for the London Naval Conference by adopting on the same day a reduced naval program, predicated on continuance of the present good relations with Turkey. A long-standing order for an armored cruiser from Germany was canceled.

YUGOSLAVIA—Religion has of late loomed as an additional obstacle in the path of Yugoslav national unity. On Feb. 2 a delegation comprising the entire Roman Catholic episcopate of Croatia, headed by the Archbishop of Zagreb, Mgr. Bauer, visited Belgrade to protest to the government against the recent campaign of sections of the Serbian press against the Roman Catholic Church. For fifty years, it was contended, the Catholic Church in Croatia has been immune from open attacks such as those recently launched, e. g., in the Zagreb *Novosti*; and the allegation that the Croat Catholics have been following secret instructions from

Rome, Vienna and Budapest to maintain a united front against the government was categorically denied. The attacks on the Croat Catholics have been called out chiefly, apparently, by anti-Serbian articles published in two Vienna clerical newspapers, the *Reichspost* and the *Weltblatt*, the latter of which has accused the Yugoslav King and Premier of having as their ultimate aim the creation of a Pan-Serbian-Fascist system with a strongly anti-Catholic bias.

Both the anti-Catholic movement among the Serbs and the anti-Serbian campaign in the Vienna clerical press show again how the Catholic Church, like communism, socialism and fascism, leaps frontiers. The Yugoslav censor may muzzle the Croatian Catholics, but their complaints are readily voiced in the Catholic press of Vienna. Semi-officially the argument is advanced in Belgrade that, since Mussolini made peace with the Pope, the Vatican is beginning a Catholic offensive among the orthodox nations of the Balkans.

ALBANIA — Herman Bernstein of New York was appointed Albanian Minister. The Senate confirmed the nomination and he has entered upon his duties.

A new Cabinet was completed on March 6, with Pandell Evangeli, President of the Chamber, as Premier.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

By JOHN H. WUORINEN

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THE FINNISH PARLIAMENT of 1930 began its labors on Feb. 2. The opening session disclosed a conspicuous absence of party bickering. Among the major problems at least temporarily disposed of by the middle of the month were a number of proposed bills relating to changes in the present prohibition law. Most of these proposals were rejected. Another

question, that of reducing the term of military service to nine months, failed to call forth sufficient support and was defeated about the middle of the month.

During the month of January, it was reported on Feb. 6, the following number of persons were found guilty for violations of the prohibition law (the figures give convictions by lower courts; those within parentheses show the con-



NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

victions during January, 1929): Manufacture, 50 (82); smuggling, 150 (139); sale, 217 (249); transportation, 196 (283); storage, 269 (214). The total number of convictions for all categories of offenses was 907, as over against 1,039 in January, 1929.

The Social Democrat Party Congress, which closed its session on Feb. 1, effected important changes in the leadership of the party. During the past four years its leadership has been controlled by the more radical elements. The executive committee is now composed of men representing the right wing of the party. In the July, 1929, election the Socialists obtained 60 out of the 200 seats in Parliament, and thus constitute a factor of great importance in the political life of the country.

The will of Mr. F. A. Juselius, which was made public on Feb. 14, provided that a sum of 100,000,000 marks should be set aside for the purpose of financing medical research. One-fourth of the money will be placed at the disposal of scientists abroad while the remainder is reserved for Finnish investigators.

SWEDEN—For some time past the Conservative Lindman Ministry has been in a precarious position. Such items in its program as increased protection on agricultural products have opened it to attacks, and the further existence of the Ministry appears now to be dependent more upon the present unwillingness of the Opposition to take active steps to overthrow it than upon any solid support in Parliament. According to the Social-Democratic view, the disruption of the Lindman Ministry would be useless unless guarantees are found for a successor that will rest upon a more solid foundation. For this reason the question of a Cabinet crisis is wholly subordinate to another of greater significance—the possibility of finding a basis of cooperation between the Social Democrats and the liberal elements, which would enable them to build a platform strong enough to support another Ministry.

The Parliamentary session of Feb. 7 was enlivened by an attack upon M. Trygger, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The alleged Swedish concern about the Danish disarmament proposal, which had led to conversations with Danish officials, was the weapon used by Mr. Hansson and his colleagues. M. Trygger defended the Ministry by explaining that the conversations between the Danish and Swedish officials had been of a purely informal nature, and that such conversations are necessary in the interests of international intercourse. Furthermore, the views presented by the Minister, he held, were shared by many Swedish citizens, who looked with apprehension on the attempt of Denmark to settle the disarmament problem without reference to her northern neighbors. These explanations failed to satisfy Mr. Hansson, who insisted that the majority of the Swedes are not alarmed by the Danish experiment, that they rather look on it with satisfaction, and that the action of the Minister had given encouragement to the Danish Conservative Opposition. The Minister was also criticized by other Deputies who participated in the debate.

Whether the Ministry intends to make an issue out of its proposal for increasing the tariff on agricultural products was not disclosed by the preliminary debates. On the other hand it was clearly shown that the Left forces were resolutely opposed to raising the duties.

DENMARK—The complicated question of disarmament, which has loomed large in Danish politics for several years and which assumed a new aspect as the result of the Spring elections of last year, still awaits final solution. It was reported on Feb. 1 that M. Munch, Minister for Foreign Affairs, had been asked by the Conservatives at a meeting of the disarmament committee whether the Danish Government had been approached by a foreign State (evidently referring to Sweden) in regard to the impending disarmament. M. Munch replied in the negative. However, the press reported that something approaching such a move had been made in Copenhagen by the Swedish Minister, who had taken it upon himself to express in private conversation the anxiety felt by his government as the result of the contemplated scrapping of the military and naval forces of Denmark. It was also maintained that a similar move had been made by the Swedish Foreign Minister in conversation with the Danish Minister in Stockholm.

In view of the difficulties which the sponsors of the disarmament bill must overcome before it is enacted into law, and considering the opposition to the measure among the conservative elements in the country, the statement made public about a week later by the Minister of Defense relating to the question of compromise with the moderate Left groups is important. It said that the Stauning Ministry did not look upon its disarmament proposal as something in the nature of an ultimatum, and that it was willing to make concessions in many matters of detail. However, it was also made clear that two basic points would not be modified.

In the first place, the Ministry insists upon the reorganization of the military and naval forces of the country upon a basis which is frankly defensive. This means a patrol force for guard duty and nothing more. The second point is that conscription must be permanently abolished. In a word, the fundamental propositions upon which the Ministry was brought into office about ten months ago must be carried out.

ICELAND—The Second Chamber of the Alting concluded its debate on Feb. 11 regarding the reconstruction of Iceland's bank. The proposal favoring reorganization of the institution was rejected by a vote of 17 to 11. On the other hand, the liquidation proposal sponsored by the government parties was carried, 17 to 8, and went to the third reading with every chance favoring its ultimate acceptance.

NORWAY—The speech from the throne was taken up for discussion on Jan. 23. The opening gun was fired by the well-known labor leader, Mr. Madsen, who concluded his speech by urging a vote of lack of confidence against the government. Mr. Hambro took it upon himself to find fault with the defense program of the government. Premier Mowinckel pointed out that a reduction in the cost of armament was made possible by the situation in which Norway finds herself today. The conditions of 1905—when the separation between Norway and Sweden was effected—and 1914 exist no longer, and this fact alone counsels a downward revision of the defense budget. However, the proposals of the Labor party for the reduction of the military budget and a change in the tax laws, were rejected by the combined votes of the non-Labor groups on Feb. 13.

The question of whether the city of Trondhjem should be rebaptized Nidaros—a proposal which has aroused much controversy—moved a step nearer to solution in the closing days of January and during the first week in February. The Storting committee submit-

ted its findings on Jan. 30. Two members favored the retention of the new name Nidaros, which went into effect on Jan. 1; three brought forth another alternative, Trondheim, and three favored the Trondhjemesse by voting for the old name. On Feb. 5 the Landsting took a vote on the proposition. It was found that the vote stood 57 to 55 in favor of the old name, and according to reports issued at the time, the chances are that the final decision of the Lagting will follow the precedent of the Landsting.

ESTONIA—The Minister President, M. Strandman, returned from his visit to Warsaw on Feb. 12. In spite of the assurances given to the press that the visit implied no political rapprochement between Poland and Estonia, and that its aim was only to increase international good-will, certain papers—especially in Lithuania—persisted in interpreting it as a political move. On Feb. 11, Mr. Schilling, chairman of the former Lithuanian State Council, de-

clared that this official visit was sufficient to cause him to withdraw from the Lithuanian-Estonian Union. The Lithuanian Foreign Minister, M. Zau-nius also assumed a critical attitude toward the matter.

The representatives of Estonia and Finland continued their discussions relative to the revision of the commercial treaty now in force between the two countries. The discussions were discontinued several times, and by the middle of February, obstacles in the way of a final agreement still remained. The main difficulties arise from the recent tariff revision effected by Finland which place duties upon several Estonian agricultural products.

The municipal elections at the end of January disclosed substantial gains made by the Socialists and Communists. In Tallinn, the capital, these two parties increased their representation from 13 to 36. Less conspicuous gains were made in other cities, notably in Narva, where the labor group obtained the largest number of votes.

THE SOVIET UNION

THE FIRST reaction against what was declared to be an intensified campaign against religion in Russia, as recorded elsewhere,* indicated unanimity among both Christians and Jews in organizing world-wide protests. Early in March a public statement appeared, signed by eighty-five prominent New York ministers and two leading rabbis, in which, while denouncing "the intolerance which induces the Soviet Government to prohibit the free exercise of religion," they dissociated themselves from the recent church protests against the religious persecutions in Russia, and declared that "the most strategic method of combating the anti-religious policy of the Communists is to prove to them that their policy is based upon a distorted conception of religion,

and this can best be done by increasing our own efforts for a cooperative and just society."

This was followed by action of the Liberal Club of the Union Theological Seminary of New York, in a statement signed by ten faculty members and sixty-seven students. The club took the stand that the protest inadequately represented the thought of a large section of the Christian church and, while deploring persecution, contended that the voiced objections were contrary to the "best traditions of Christianity." The statement urged friendly rather than hostile criticism of the Soviets and called for recognition of the Soviet by all the governments of the world as the first step toward bringing about amicable relations.

The announcement that the twelve rabbis at Minsk and the chief rabbi of

*See the article by Professor Edgar S. Furniss on pages 25-30 of this magazine.

Leningrad had been released relieved the tension somewhat, as well as direct statements from Moscow that no one was being or would be persecuted for his religious beliefs.

Joseph Stalin issued a pronouncement early in March calling a halt on efforts by Soviet village officials to "collectivize" by force and by extreme measures the millions of small farms into State-controlled agricultural centres; he stated that the peasants would be allowed to retain their cows, goats and poultry. The effect was electrical; the attitude of the peasants immediately changed, and instead of being openly hostile to the plan, they are reported to be now sympathetic, and this movement has been accelerated.

A statement made in early March by

Raphael Abramovitch, member of the Socialist International, that there are 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 unemployed in Russia and 75,000 to 100,000 political prisoners, was flatly denied officially with the statement that Russia is "practically the only country in the world where there is no unemployment" and that the charge was part of the world-wide anti-Soviet campaign.

A statement was printed on March 7 that 500 Soviet engineers were now stationed in large American manufacturing plants to study methods and operations. Among new industries being established in Russia is a watch-making plant near Moscow, to equip which the Soviet Government has purchased \$650,000 worth of tools and equipment in the United States.

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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KING FEISAL of Iraq and King Ibn Saud of the Hejaz and Nejd signed a treaty of arbitration and friendship on the British sloop *Lupin* in the Persian Gulf on Feb. 24, the two sovereigns being guests of Sir Francis Humphreys, British High Commissioner of Iraq. The fact that such a treaty was made may be of very great importance, regardless of its contents. Kings of two rival families, one sheltered under the protecting power of England and the other ruling proudly in the unconquered desert, have reached an agreement without a preliminary war, and with an outlook toward peaceful relations during an indefinite future.

The two Kings met with the greatest courtesy. Ibn Saud said: "It is time that we Arab leaders should make peace among ourselves and seek prosperity for our peoples. If we continue to quarrel we are solely to blame." Feisal said that he had turned his back upon old family feuds for the sake of

reaching an immediate agreement which would insure neighborly relations and the happiness of the two countries. In addressing the British representative, the Wahabi King said that Britain had always tried to make peace between the Arabs and was therefore worthy of the highest praise.

The treaty contained nineteen clauses, among which were the following:

1. Mutual recognition of the independence of Iraq and Nejd and an exchange of Ambassadors.
2. The outlawing of tribal raiders.
3. The extradition of fugitives from justice.
4. The establishment of a permanent frontier commission, similar to that appointed under the tripartite treaty between Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain.
5. An undertaking to settle disputes over the interpretation of the treaty by arbitration.
6. An agreement by Ibn Saud to give favorable consideration to Iraq's claims for reparations arising from recent frontier raids.
7. The acceptance by Ibn Saud of Iraq's view regarding the maintenance of police posts in the southern desert. If full agreement on this subject is not reached within six months the dispute will be settled by

an arbitration court of five members, whose award Ibn Saud promises to accept.

In addition, Ibn Saud agrees to pardon Wahabi fugitives who have sought refuge in Iraq.

The question of conscription was debated in the Iraq Parliament early in January. The Prime Minister stated that the government had elaborated a project for a new military policy, intended to result eventually in complete self-protection for the country. Military service was expected to be obligatory.

Announcement was made on Jan. 9 of the signature in London of a tri-

sists of about 400 persons, mostly Turks, chosen out of a number of applicants which is said to have exceeded 20,000. When the factory is in full operation it can produce 80 cars per day.

The National Assembly is reported to contemplate legislation which will forbid after the year 1930 the attendance in foreign schools of Turkish subjects between 7 and 12 years of age, and the compulsory attendance of such children at Turkish Government schools. This will affect the ten schools and colleges run by Americans in Turkey.

Announcement has been made that



THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

partite convention between the United States, Great Britain and Iraq, giving to the United States and its citizens similar rights in Iraq with those of members of the League of Nations. Provisions are included concerning taxation, commerce, the practice of professions and the maintenance of educational and philanthropic institutions. At present about 150 Americans reside in Iraq.

TURKEY—The first Ford car to be put together in the Near East was produced at the Ford factory at Tophaneh, Constantinople, early in January. The staff of the factory con-

sists of about 400 persons, mostly Turks, chosen out of a number of applicants which is said to have exceeded 20,000. When the factory is in full operation it can produce 80 cars per day.

Discussions developed in February as regards possible naval rivalry between Turkey and Greece, which would press both toward expenditures which they cannot afford. The Turkish fleet, since the repair of the former German ship Goeben, called by the Turks the Yawuz, is superior to the Greeks in large craft, but inferior in destroyers and submarines.

In view of the serious economic crisis,

the government discussed a request to foreign bond holders for a moratorium as regards the payment of the pre-war debts, which was resumed only within the last few months. The government's difficulties were lightened when the Italian Commercial Bank allowed it a credit of \$5,000,000. The treasury also received \$1,000,000 for Russian Government purchases. Late in February the government began withdrawing all official and semi-official accounts from the banks "for the purpose of preventing speculation." The ultimate aim seemed to be to force foreign banks to convert more foreign exchange into Turkish money, with the hope of improving the rate of exchange. The budget of 1930 is expected to produce \$1,200,000 more than that of 1929. Rigid economy has been observed in contemplating expenditures. About half the increase is directly devoted to the foreign debt.

Statistics collected in 1927 show 256,855 persons employed in industry; of these, 110,480 are in agricultural industry and 75,396 in industries having direct relation to agriculture. Shoes are manufactured in 13,152 shops, containing 32,154 workers. Some 7,746 persons are engaged in milling; 15,000 manipulate tobacco; 13,111 busy themselves with the manufacture of cotton, wool and silk; 9,167 work at the manufacture of rugs. Practically all the industries operate on a very small scale, and, by comparison with Western lands, with very scanty assistance from steam, gasoline and electricity.

The frequent droughts in recent years have directed governmental attention to the extension of irrigation. Some progress has been made, and plans have been formed for the development of several regions, including the Brusa plain and the great Cilician expanse.

The port administration of Constantinople has proposed plans for enlarging the harbor facilities, of which the most startling is to suppress the well-known Galata bridge, enlarge the bridge further up the Golden Horn, and supplement this with a service of ferryboats.

EGYPT—The reopening of Parliament, after eighteen months of suspension, was carried through with the usual ceremony. The speech from the throne affirmed that legislation would be proposed which would protect the Constitution against such suspensions as that of July, 1928. It was announced that negotiations with the British Government looking toward a full agreement would be carried through. The Egyptian army is to be re-equipped with weapons. The irrigation system is to be improved, and some courts are to be reorganized. An agricultural bank will be created, and small landowners will be protected against the loss of their property.

Parliament was requested by Prime Minister Nahas Pasha to authorize the government to negotiate with England "with a view to reaching an honorable and durable agreement," and acceded to the request. He said: "The government is resolved, if you give it a mandate, to seize the opportunity of the presence in power of a British Government animated by a spirit of understanding and friendship of reaching an honorable agreement between the two countries." This course of action does not promise to be as rapid as if the Parliament had discussed the plan already submitted by the British Government to the Mohamed Mahmud Pasha Government last Autumn. Nahas Pasha planned to reach England by March 24.

The speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament also declared the intention of establishing airports at Cairo and Alexandria and the creation in the army of an engineering company, whose duty would be the improvement of caravan trails across the desert.

Aziz Izzet Pasha, formerly Egyptian Minister to England, has proposed a federation of all States along the river Nile, particularly Egypt, the Sudan and Abyssinia. The idea is based upon the natural unity and indivisibility of the Nile Valley. The proposed pact would be political, military and economic.

Criticism has developed of the policy of the government in restricting the acreage under cotton, the argument be-

ing that the total amount produced in Egypt is so small a fraction of the world's output that its restriction has little effect upon prices, and if Egypt were to produce a much larger amount, it could be sold at substantially the same rate as at present.

Strenuous efforts are being made to reduce the drug traffic, which has worked terrible havoc among the people of Egypt. At the first international congress for the suppression of the trade in narcotics, recently held at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations, the Egyptian representative, Russell Pasha, took a prominent part. The traffickers in drugs, many of whom have made great sums of money, are reported to be mostly subjects of Switzerland, Austria, Germany, France and Turkey.

Estimates for the budget of 1930-31 indicate a revenue of \$190,000,000 and an expenditure of \$225,000,000, the difference to be made up by a further reduction of the surplus. About \$13,000,000 is proposed to be spent upon irrigation and \$7,000,000 upon railway expansion. The government expects a considerable increase in income from the new tariff rate. Quay dues are to be imposed upon passengers entering and leaving Egypt to the amount of \$2.50 to \$1.00 and 50 cents, according to class.

In expectation of the coming into effect on Feb. 17 of the new customs regulations, Alexandria underwent an experience similar to that of Constantinople a few months ago. Foreign wares were brought in in unprecedented quantities, not only filling the warehouse but overflowing extensively into the open air.

ARABIA—About the end of December the forces of King Ibn Saud attacked a rebel position in Shaibauja, with complete success. Some defeated leaders, with 600 men, crossed the frontier into the territory of Koweit and Iraq. They were disarmed and interned, pending negotiations between the governments concerned. Ibn Saud requested their extradition from the

British Chargé d'Affaires at Jeddah.

Sir Andrew Ryan has been appointed the first Minister from Great Britain to the State of Hejaz and Nejd.

The fifth anniversary of the accession of King Ibn Saud to the throne of the Hejaz was celebrated at Mecca from the 8th to the 11th of January. Prince Feisal, who represented his father, absent on campaigns, announced the release of all minor offenders from prison and the reduction by one-third of the time of imprisonment of all persons under long sentence. Later in the same day the Prince, having used motor power to proceed rapidly to Jeddah, received the notables of that city and the entire European community. In the evening he gave a banquet to 140 guests. Next day 220 guests from both Mecca and Jeddah were entertained at a picnic in the oasis of Magra, about midway between the two cities. Arab poets recited stanzas composed for the occasion, and Bedouin war dances were exhibited to the guests.

SYRIA—The budget of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the year 1930 contains credits for the high commissariat of the French Republic in Syria amounting to \$400,000, practically the same amount for French work in Syria and the Lebanon, about \$300,000 for French work in the Orient and \$4,000 for French services in Arabia.

Plans are under way to develop French air service between Marseilles and Indo-China. In June, 1929, regular service was established between the French city and the coast of Syria. On Jan. 3, 1930, a weekly service was established between Beirut and Bagdad. The transit is accomplished in five hours.

The French Government is reported to have decided upon immediate and direct improvement of the harbor of Beirut. The program is expected to occupy five years and to cost \$6,000,000, part at least of which it is expected can be recovered by the sale of filled land. There is talk of steamer lines between Beirut and Calais, the

Cape of Good Hope and Calcutta. At the same time a large airport has been designed at Tripoli, to cost about \$600,000.

M. Eddé, Prime Minister of the Lebanon, proceeds with the execution of his program of administrative and economic reform, with more and more disregard of the parliamentary régime, which seems on the whole to have lacked adaptability to conditions in his small country. Intimations are given from the French side to the effect that if abuses are not reduced sufficiently, the parliamentary régime may be suppressed altogether in favor of direct government by the mandatory power.

The population of the Lebanon is now estimated at 850,000 persons, an increase of 200,000 since 1922. This gives the republic practically the same number of inhabitants as Palestine.

PALESTINE—In the middle of January the Council of the League of Nations provided that a commission of three members, who should not be British or of questioned impartiality, should be appointed "to decide and determine the respective rights and claims of Jews and Moslems at the Wailing Wall." Great Britain is to choose the membership, subject to approval by the Council.

About one hundred Palestinian Arab merchants met in Jerusalem in the middle of February to discuss means of developing Arab commerce and industry so as to become independent of Jews. Various resolutions were passed looking in this direction and directly intended to strengthen the boycott of Jewish merchants, specifically extending it to Jewish wholesalers. An executive committee of five was given power to execute the resolutions of the meeting. A steady increase in the observance by Arabs of a boycott against Jews is reported. Ringleaders have so terrified peaceful Arabs that some actually fear to look into the show windows of Jewish shops. Picketing is practiced, while Arabs who break the boycott are sometimes beaten by their compatriots.

Much excitement developed in connection with the trial at Jaffa of a Jewish policeman named Hinkas, who was accused of leading a group of Jews who murdered five adult Arabs and two children on Aug. 25, 1929. The character of bullets and rifle shells was brought into the testimony. On Feb. 5 a jury found Hinkas guilty of premeditated murder and he was sentenced to death. On Feb. 27 a district court at Jerusalem sentenced Abdul Ghani to fifteen years of penal servitude for shooting at and wounding Norman Bentwich, the Jewish attorney general, last November. The prisoner had already been sentenced to three years in the penitentiary in connection with a murder. Both Arabs and Jews who have received the death sentence in connection with the riots of last August have been regularly appealing their cases to higher courts. Some of the Arabs have appealed to the Privy Council in England.

Jewish immigration increased during the last three months of 1929 in spite of the disturbed conditions. These conditions directly brought about an increase in postoffice revenue, especially in the use of telegraphs and telephones.

The orange crop in Palestine is notably larger than a year ago, thus promising improvement in economic conditions in the country. The cereal and olive crops also promise large increases. These gains are diminished by a fall in prices. Out of about 2,500,000 acres of cultivable land (in a total of 5,760,000 acres), about a quarter of a million acres are now owned by Jews.

PERSIA—The Shah recently visited the southern provinces, in particular inspecting work upon the new port of Khor Musa and the southern end of the new railway.

Dost Mohammed was executed in Teheran at the beginning of February. A brigand of Baluchi origin, he plied his trade for many years in the eastern borderland of Persia. Captured a year ago, he was brought to the capital and allowed considerable liberty. In Novem-

ber he killed one of his guards and escaped into the desert. Having been recaptured, he was adjudged worthy of death.

Dr. Walder of Switzerland, who served for eighteen months as treasurer-general of Persia, has resigned and been replaced by the Belgian, M. DeKerckheer, a man already acquainted with Persian financial problems, who reorganized the Persian customs house. As usual, the change is charged against interference of a foreign power, in this case, England.

The Persian colony in Constantinople, consisting of about 15,000 persons, is greatly exercised by the order of their home government requiring that all Persians abroad return to Persia within one year or lose their citizenship as well as their property in Persia. The provision that those who obey the order will be permitted to return abroad, after duly giving security, is considered only a partial mitigation. A similar Persian measure requires that all foreigners who own real estate in Persia must sell such property to Persian subjects within one year, except their dwelling houses. Groups most affected are English, Iraqis and Turks.

A shortage is reported in the income of the fiscal year 1928-29 to the amount of about \$11,000,000. The Minister of Finance has been changed. The recent sharp decline in the value of silver has led the government to take seriously into consideration a change in the basis of money from silver to gold. Parlia-

ment has passed a law giving the government authority to supervise the buying and selling of all foreign currency in Persia.

Motor transport shows steady increase. About 85 per cent of the vehicles are from America. Roads continue to be improved and extended by the Ministry of Public Works under steady pressure from the Shah. Competition between the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and the Russian Persazneft of Baku has led to a marked reduction in the price of gasoline, all of which helps to increase the use of motor vehicles. The number of public garages and skilled mechanics increases rapidly. A Danish company has in service a fleet of eighteen auto-buses at Teheran. They suffer severe competition from taxis. Horse-drawn carriages tend to disappear. Many motor trucks have been transformed into buses and carry passengers at a low price.

AFGHANISTAN—Two representatives of former King Amanullah, one of them being his half-brother, were arrested in the Northwest Frontier province of India, "owing to the discovery of an alleged conspiracy to disturb the peace of Afghanistan." Later in the month Amanullah traveled from Italy to Constantinople on his way to Angora to visit "my brother, President Mustapha Kemal Pasha." Rumor had it that the ex-King was attempting to secure aid toward the restoration of his lost throne.

THE FAR EAST

By ROBERT T. POLLARD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

JAPAN'S SECOND election under the provisions of her universal manhood suffrage law, held on Feb. 20, resulted in a striking victory for the Minseito Government of Premier Hamaguchi. According to early estimates, out of a total electorate of 12,942,597, approximately 10,000,000

voters went to the polls. The figures so far available indicate that the Minseito elected 273 members to the new House of Representatives, thus exceeding the most sanguine predictions of the party members. This result, which represents an increase of 101 over the party strength in the old Diet, will give Mr.

Hamaguchi a majority of eighty over the combination of all other parties. The Seiyukai, the Opposition party, elected 174 candidates, contrasting notably with their strength of 240 in the dissolved Diet.

The independent candidates and the labor parties suffered somewhat in the final tabulation. In spite of prevailing unemployment and industrial depression, the outcome indicates that the labor candidates were defeated in eighty-eight instances, electing only five members. The independent candidates, including those named by the Kokumin Doshikai (formerly the Business Men's party) elected fourteen out of a total of seventy nominees. The partial eclipse of these minor groups, coupled with the clear majority for the Minseito, will destroy the advantage enjoyed by the third party groups following the election of 1928, when they held the balance of power between the two major parties.

The striking set-back for the proletarian parties is doubtless due, partly to their lack of funds, but even more to their lack of a unified organization. There were four labor parties in the field, in addition to a number of purely local groups. Of these, the Zenkoku Minshuto, or All-Japan Democratic party, was organized shortly before the commencement of the campaign by a group which seceded from the Shakai Minshuto, or Social Democratic party. The other two groups were the reorganized Ronoto, or Farmer-Labor party, and the Nihon Taishuto, or People's party. Among the labor candidates who went down to defeat were Isoo Abe, the leader of the Shakai Minshuto, and Toyohiko Kagawa, a Christian Socialist who is well known for his work in the slums of Tokio. Kagawa, who recently recovered from a severe illness, expressed his unwillingness to run and made no campaign. Professor Oyama, the head of the left wing Ronoto, was one of the five labor candidates to be elected.

Observers agree that less money was spent on the campaign than was spent two years ago. A smaller amount of

political literature was distributed, and fewer political meetings were held. Both parties were feeling the effects of the recent judicial investigations into the sources of campaign funds, in consequence of which a number of leaders in both political parties find themselves in embarrassing positions. This economy, which the Premier has declared to be a stern necessity if Japan is to continue to improve her balance of international obligations, may lie behind the smaller number of candidacies in the election, there being 124 fewer than in 1928. For the first time the spoken cinema was utilized as a campaign weapon, and proposals were made for the removal of the ban on the broadcasting of political addresses. Another innovation was the announcement by the Minister of Interior that for the first time the voter might use Korean script in writing the name of his candidate on the ballot. It was estimated that 40,000 Koreans resident in Japan were thus given an opportunity to vote.

While the election centred around personalities rather than issues, the result has been interpreted as a vindication of Premier Hamaguchi's restoration of the gold standard, and his twin policies of balancing the budget without resort to loans, and of enforcing the strictest economy in governmental expenditures. The business world hailed the outcome of the election as a victory for economic stability. As a final consequence, it is now certain that the Japanese delegates to the London conference will not suffer the fate of their French colleagues.

Brief but significant references in both the Chinese and Japanese press indicate the continuance of student disorders in Korea. Responsible Japanese officials, who are inclined to minimize both the importance and the extent of the student disturbances, are convinced that Communist "cells" have been planted in various Korean schools. Two recent visits by Viscount Saito, Governor General of Korea, were connected by the press with his plans for the grant to Korea of a larger measure of local government. Details of the plans

seem to call for an enlargement of the powers of prefectural and local assemblies so that such elected assemblies will have actual executive functions instead of merely advisory powers as at present.

Prince Takamatsu, the second brother of the Emperor, was married on Feb. 4 to Princess Kikuko Tokugawa, the granddaughter of the last Shogun, whose retirement in 1868 paved the way for the restoration of imperial rule.

CHINA—The month witnessed the crystallization of military opposition to the rule of General Chiang Kai-shek at Nanking, with the signs pointing to the large-scale resumption of China's chronic civil wars early in the Spring. Active fighting between forces loyal and others hostile to Chiang was reported in two localities. Early in February, reports from the South indicated that the Ironside Division of General Chang Fa-kwei had effected a junction with the Kwangsi rebels under Pei Tsung-chi, and that the combined armies had launched a determined offensive against Nanking Government forces defending Canton. On Feb. 13, fighting was also reported between Nanking troops and the 30,000 soldiers of General Shih Yu-shan in Eastern Honan.

The development of chief importance was the public suggestion of Yen Hsi-shan, in control of much of Northern China, that he would retire and leave the country provided Chiang Kai-shek followed suit. Only thus would the renewal of civil war be averted. Chiang, in a spirited reply, declined to heed the suggestion and began immediate military preparations for the defense of Nanking against a northern attack. A second telegram from Yen, couched in more conciliatory terms than the first, intimated that there would be no fighting unless Nanking took the offensive. Chiang's second reply was a demand that Yen carry out forthwith the orders of the Nanking Government for the disbandment of troops in Northern

China. As a notable feature of the new military situation, Feng Yu-hsiang, known as the "Christian General," emerged from his long retirement in an obscure Shansi village and appeared at General Yen's Taiyuanfu headquarters. General Chang Hsueh-liang, in control of Manchuria, was said to be taking no part in the new alignment against Chiang Kai-shek.

It is reported that General Yen intends to establish a new government at Peiping. Yen is reported further to have called a conference of Kuomintang leaders to meet at Peiping within the near future. Included in the call were many Kuomintang members who have lately been expelled from the party by Chiang Kai-shek. The latter has issued a call for a similar Kuomintang conference to be held at Nanking in March.

Undoubtedly, more factors enter into the situation than appear on the surface. There is much personal hostility to Chiang Kai-shek on the part of numerous military leaders, and Peiping, which has suffered from the removal of the capital to Nanking, has every reason to desire a restoration of its former official importance. The traditional hostility between North and South in China may be an additional factor. Much restiveness has resulted from the growing tendency to centralize political and military control at Nanking. It is possible that the recent reduction of salaries by the Nanking Government may have some influence on the whole situation. Finally must be mentioned the resentment of military leaders against the efforts of the Nanking Government to force the disbandment of surplus troops. The Nanking authorities have gone ahead with their plans for disbanding personal armies, not merely in the interests of financial economy but still more in the interest of consolidating their authority through the elimination of potential enemies.

While the military leaders jockeyed for positions of advantage, bandits were reported to be roaming the coun-



CHINA AND ADJOINING PROVINCES

tryside in large sections of Hunan, Hupeh, Szechuan, Anhwei, Kiangsi and Kiangsu provinces. Three Finnish women missionaries were reported on Feb. 8 to have been kidnapped from Kianfu, in Kiangsi. Three German missionaries were held by bandits near Swatow. An American missionary who was recently made captive in the Swatow area managed to escape. A Hankow dispatch dated Feb. 26 told of bandits having raided and burned two Catholic missions 120 miles up the Han River, in Hupeh. A. L. Reeves, an American missionary captured by bandits near Soochow, Kiangsu, was later released. At the end of February river traffic in the Yangtse Gorges was seriously affected by a strike of the native pilots. Commerce in that region was reported at a standstill in consequence of banditry and the steady drop in the value of silver currency. Foreign ships operating between Hankow and Chung-

king carried armed guards as a precaution against piracy. American naval guards on one occasion used machine guns to silence a group of bandits who fired on two steamers navigating the Yangtse above Ichang. American naval authorities ordered a gunboat to convoy Standard Oil Company shipments from Hankow to Changsha in order to prevent interference by bandits and undisciplined troops. Twelve vessels carrying Standard Oil Company cargoes were reported on Feb. 14 to have been seized by pirates operating in the West River delta south of Canton. Meanwhile additional reports from the famine regions of Shensi declare that even those who were formerly engaged in relief work are themselves now seeking relief.

Three developments of some importance touching China's international relations have been reported during the month. Minister of Foreign Affairs

C. T. Wang announced on Feb. 14 that extended negotiations with Sir Miles Lampson, British Minister, had resulted in the completion of a draft agreement for the retrocession of the British leasehold of Weihaiwei. The draft will be sent to London for official approval.

The agreement for the reorganization of the Shanghai Provisional Court, which has been the subject of negotiations since December, was signed on Feb. 17. The agreement, which is to last three years, will become effective on April 1. It was signed by representatives of the United States, Brazil, Great Britain, France, Holland and Norway. The Chinese Government declined to admit Japanese representatives to the conferences, on the ground that the Japanese treaty providing for extraterritoriality expired two years ago. The new agreement abolishes the deputy judge system (allowing foreign consular representatives to assist in all cases). The clerical force of the court is henceforth to be under Chinese control. The judicial police are to be nominated by the Shanghai Municipal Council (of the International Settlement), but appointed and subject to removal by the Chinese Government. The women's prison and the civil detention quarters are to be transferred to Chinese control, and other prisons which remain in the hands of the Municipal Council are subject to Chinese inspection. Chinese law, both substantive and procedural, is henceforth to be used in the court, which is to be known as the Shanghai District Court. Appeals from the District Court may be taken to a newly established branch of the High

Court, and from there directly to the Judicial Yuan, or Supreme Court, at Nanking.

Following a conference with Mo Teh-hui, new Director General of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the authorities at Nanking announced their acceptance of the terms of the Sino-Russian protocol signed in December at Khabarovsk. Apparently Mo was able to convince his superiors at Nanking that the published agreement contained the whole of the engagements entered into, and that there were no unpublished secret clauses. On leaving Nanking Mr. Mo, who is to be the chief Chinese delegate to the Sino-Russian conference for the final adjustment of the railway dispute, was quoted by a foreign correspondent as having announced China's intention to negotiate for the purchase of Russia's interest in the railway property, under the terms of the 1924 agreements.

A second incident has arisen involving the extraterritorial rights of a foreigner. An American missionary, involved in a fatal motor accident at Tungchow, Kiangsu, which resulted in the death of a Chinese boy, surrendered himself voluntarily to the Chinese authorities. After trial he was fined \$100 silver. The American State Department was reported to have looked with disfavor on the proceeding, since Americans are not authorized to submit themselves to Chinese jurisdiction except in accordance with the terms of Sino-American treaties. In the case of the British naval officer, arrested at Hankow following a traffic fatality, diplomatic negotiations were reported to be under way between the two governments concerned.

NEW ZEALAND

By H. E. T. COSTON and FRASER G. BADDELEY

BE THEY governed under the name of Liberal, Reform or United party, the great majority of New Zealanders realize today that the prosperity of the Dominion depends on a wise government, which will foster primary production. Ever since the days of Richard Seddon New Zealanders have steadily set their faces against any wild experiments in Labor government.

The period from 1893 to 1906, during the whole of which Richard Seddon was Prime Minister, if not actually a dictator, was undoubtedly one of the most important periods in the history of New Zealand. Three years before the Seddon régime a definite Liberal policy had been inaugurated, whose keynote was this:

"Here is a young and promising country. There are no rich and no poor. There are no petty class distinctions. With examples before our eyes, let us direct our affairs so as to avoid the chief social evils, which we can discern in older communities."

To carry out this policy in its infant stages no character could have been more suitable than that of Seddon, whose love for the people and great tenderness of heart made him ever careful of the "under-dog." He had nothing beyond a primary-school education, and few external graces, but beneath this unprepossessing exterior lay greatness of mind and of character. If he knew little about books he knew much about men. Full of self-confidence, his mental grasp of problems was unusually rapid and strong, and his judgment of a political situation unequaled. Add to this that he could be tremendously in earnest, and was a thorough-going democrat, and one can understand how this apparently unpromising Prime Minister became the most impressive figure that New Zealand politics has produced.

Seddon's elevation to the Premiership in 1893 was received by a portion of the Conservative press with astonishment, regret and even derision. But Liberalism, when it was still in opposition, had won the confidence and support of the workers by its actions in 1890, when New Zealand was affected by the great maritime strike in Australia. The Conservative Government of that day stood aside, and the Liberal Opposition forced it against its will to call a conference of unions and employers.

The allegiance of the workers had been further cemented by the passing of an employers' liability act and the formation of a Department of Labor. The farming community, in its turn, had to put to the credit of Liberalism the removal of the—to them—objectionable property tax, for which had been substituted a more popular income and land tax. The establishment of an advances-to-settlers bill and a measure for the compulsory purchase of land for closer settlement had also pleased them.

The general election that now took place, the first since the Liberals had launched their ship, was a critical one for Seddon. The situation was complicated by the recent enfranchisement of women and the newly added licensing bill. Seddon had to rely on pointing out to the voters what the Liberals had already done, and how, under their policy, the country had become more prosperous. The result was an overwhelming victory for the Liberal Government, which had a following of fifty-six in a House of seventy-four members.

Thus encouraged, Seddon went full speed ahead. To care for the workers a drastic factory act, probably the most liberal in the world, became law. A State system of settling industrial disputes was established. Although the government refused to grant all the de-



New Zealand and neighboring Pacific islands

mands of the prohibitionists, a bill was added to the program on this subject.

New Zealand was lucky in that during the Seddon régime a wave of prosperity set in. The upward trend of world prices was the main cause. Then, too, the dairying industry, which tended to cause closer settlement of the land, was added to sheep-farming. Gold mining assumed important proportions; no less than £13,000,000 worth of gold was taken from the famous Waihi mine, and £5,000,000 was paid in dividends. The national progress of New Zealand during this period may be gathered from the following figures:

Year.	Population.	Exports.	Imports.
1895.....	698,000	£8,550,000	£6,400,000
1905.....	882,000	15,655,000	12,828,000

The alliance of Labor with Liberalism, skillfully fostered by Seddon, gave him practically complete security, and his policy was unhampered by a separate Labor party. Money was borrowed from the London market and was spent on roads and railways in a judicious manner. The danger of immigration to a high standard of living and to racial purity was realized, and an act was introduced imposing an education test on immigrants not of British birth.

This restricted the entry of Hindus and Asiatics. Chinese were also subject to a poll tax. In 1898 an old-age pension act was placed on the statute book, after a tremendous struggle in which the House of Representatives sat uninterruptedly for ninety hours in committee. Secondary education was made more accessible to the masses and a technical branch was developed.

But now with the Liberal-Labor Government at its zenith the great Seddon died peacefully in the cabin of his boat while returning from a visit to Australia.

Sir Joseph Ward, who succeeded him, entered on a wonderful political inheritance. The party had enjoyed fifteen

years of unbroken power, its legislation had drawn the attention of the world, the Opposition had been routed at the elections the previous year and the country was riding happily on a rising tide of prosperity.

But the new Prime Minister, able though he was, was not a Seddon. The title he had taken did not meet with the approval of the people. At one time in his career bankruptcy had caused his retirement from politics, and he was a Roman Catholic. The workers were becoming dissatisfied with the conciliation and arbitration system. If wages had risen, so had the cost of living, and labor, looking across the Tasman Sea, saw its comrades in Australia gaining government power as a separate party. The doctrines of Karl Marx began to affect a minority of the Labor party and in 1906-7 strikes began.

On the other hand, the Liberal policy of closer settlement had manufactured a multitude of new small landowners. These now had a definite stake in the country and had become automatically Conservative. The large land owners had become nervous and had founded a newspaper, which was to be the most

potent factor of its kind in the defeat of the government. The Opposition had adopted the name of the Reform party and by 1911 was a formidable organization. Not only was Labor breaking away but its candidates were going so far as to promise to vote the government out, while Reform swung votes to Labor in order to defeat the government.

In 1912 the Liberal-Labor party was pushed but not swept out of power. The election showed that it was still strong in the country, although it had contributed to its own downfall. A certain amount of degeneration of fibre had appeared, the result of disunion, timidity, lack of inspiration and a habit of following the line of least resistance in policy and administration.

The policy of the Reform party actually did not differ greatly from that of the Liberals. What the new party wished to reform was chiefly the administration of its predecessors. Mr. Massey as Prime Minister offered the people financial and fiscal reform, but his main weapon was criticism of the government's methods and charges of extravagance and corruption.

Scarcely had the new party settled into its stride when, as elsewhere in the world, owing to the outbreak of war, parties ceased to exist and a coalition government came into power, whose policy was governed entirely by the necessities of the war. The coalition carried on until the return of the Prime Minister and of Sir Joseph Ward from attending the peace negotiations in Europe.

Although there had been no open dissensions there had been some tension, and shortly after his return Sir Joseph Ward and his colleagues withdrew from the Ministry. At the general elections which ensued, Liberals made a poor showing and the Reform party emerged with a clear majority of sixteen over all other parties, the result showing: Reform, 48; Liberal, 19; Labor, 8; Independents, 5.

In 1922 a general election gave another chance to the Opposition. Liberalism, however, reaped no advantage,



RICHARD J. SEDDON

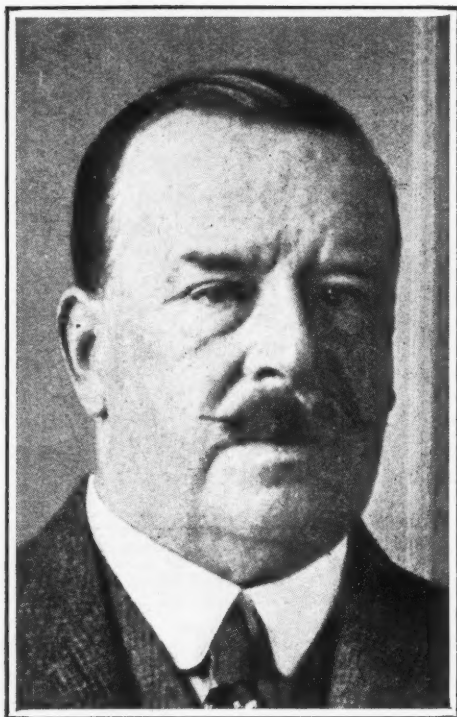
Prime Minister of New Zealand from 1893 until his death in 1906

but the election resulted in a considerable accession of strength to the Labor party at the expense of the Ministerialists. The figures now read: Reform, 38; Liberal, 20; Labor, 17; Independents, 5.

Since its first appearance thirty-two years previously the Labor party had by now raised its numbers to seventeen. It shows zeal and energy and its unity makes it a force to be reckoned with. It has, however, produced no leader of outstanding genius, while, owing to the many reforms carried out by Liberalism, it is hard put to it to find grievances. It has instead to rely almost entirely on socialism and pacifism, platforms which by no means appeal to the bulk of modern New Zealanders.

In 1925 Mr. Massey died and was succeeded by Mr. Coates. The position of the Reform party was now overwhelmingly strong and it appeared to be in for a long spell of power, the election that year giving the following results: Reform, 56; Labor, 13; Nationals, 8; Independents, 2, and a solitary Liberal, in the person of Sir Joseph Ward.

Although the population has now grown to nearly a million and a quar-



SIR JOSEPH WARD
Prime Minister of New Zealand

ter, and trade figures have reached a total of £108,000,000, it is still on the export of meat, wool and dairy produce that the prosperity of New Zealand depends. In consequence of two bad years from an agricultural point of view, the legislation of the next three years was overshadowed by the necessity for economy. Agriculture was assisted by an amplification of credit facilities for farmers and the Massey Agricultural College was founded. The growth of the motor industry brought in its train a spirit tax for the improvement of roads and a compulsory third-party-risk insurance. Purely domestic measures provided for an allowance for children in large families; also for the registration of mental defectives, the latter with a view of later preventing breeding from such stock. Measures were also passed for town planning and for the expert control of local loans. Everything possi-

ble was done to make railways and other State-owned enterprises pay.

The question of taking advantage of the practically unlimited supply of water power was taken in hand by the State in 1900, and by 1928 150,000 hydroelectric horsepower were actually in use. The year 1927-8 saw an improvement in agricultural conditions. More money was in evidence, and the country was sailing along in so settled and contented a manner that the Reform Government faced the triennial election at the end of 1928 calmly and confidently.

They were, however, to receive the most dramatic shock that any party had ever received in New Zealand. Almost unnoticed beneath the surface ripple of content an accumulation of influences had been at work. The personal popularity of Mr. Coates, based to some extent on his war record, had waned. His efforts to foster State-owned enterprises, managed, to a larger extent than was realized, to tread on the toes of private business. As an example, private-owned motor transport was competing with the railways. The passenger part of this was crushed out of existence and taken over by the State; while enormous taxes were placed on heavy trucks. During the same period Mr. Coates had fathered a bill which raised the hopes of the prohibitionists higher than they had ever been. When, however, it was disclosed that there was in the House of Representatives an actual majority of members pledged to this reform, he dropped it like a hot coal.

That staunch old Liberal, Sir Joseph Ward, once Mr. Seddon's right-hand man, now came forward, having drawn to his side the National and Independent members, and unfurled his banner as the leader of a United party. His main platform was large borrowing for development, both within the Dominion and in the mother country. The agricultural community was dazzled by the prospect of large State advances at cheap rates of interest. Then, too, this leader of the United party was a Roman Catholic, a point now in his favor, since

he could carry the entire vote of that denomination; while after what they looked upon as their great betrayal the prohibitionists would vote for anything rather than Reform.

The United party came out of the contest 29 strong. Labor, though really having made no headway, profited by the circumstances to the extent of four seats, and numbered 18. Independents numbered 6 and Reform 27.

Once again the policy of the new United party differs little from that of its predecessors. A faster rate of borrowing to get ahead with development, a more definite land policy, and a more ardent wooing of Labor, by means of promises, are to take the place of the slower and perhaps more prudent aims of the Coates Administration.

The political situation in New Zealand today is bound up with the racial, economic and social conditions on the island.

Of the million and a half people forming the population, 98 per cent are British in the sense of having been born within the boundaries of the empire. Owing to universal education there are practically no illiterates; and, on the other hand, except in the very few large cities, there is no leisured class, and consequently few scholars. There is no aristocracy, and nothing that can be called a plutocracy. There is, however, no sign of the hereditary pauper. While the number of rich people is very small, the average wealth and income is among the highest in the world. It is only in the few large towns that class distinctions are beginning now to appear.

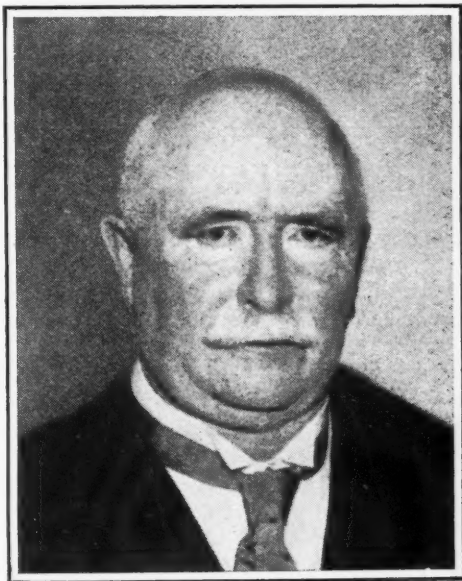
In character the New Zealanders of today differ very little from their parents and grandparents. They are still sociable, self-confident and unsuspicious, while a long-standing tendency to deify the commonplace is by no means eradicated. They are great lovers of outdoor sports, and though golf and cricket have their devotees, rugby football and horse racing are by far the most popular sports.

Primary education is the order of the day. This is not altogether an unmixed

blessing; since far too many youngsters leaving school desire employment in the towns, which tends to overcrowd them from an employment point of view, and to starve the country. Towns now hold nearly half the population of the Dominion.

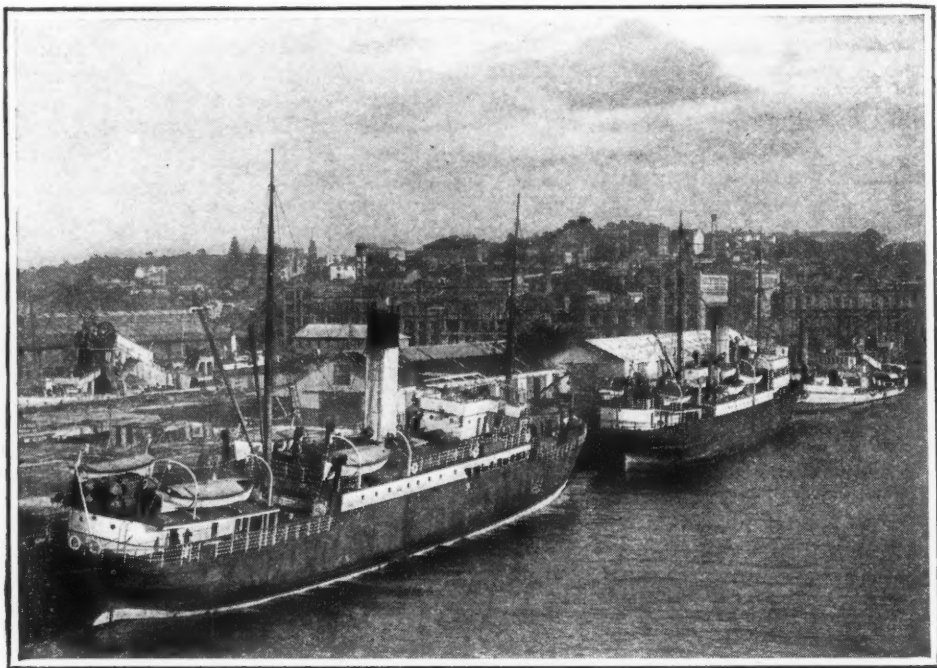
Although a certain amount of attention has in recent years been devoted to the arts, the bulk of the people are too busy playing and working to think much of such things.

Drink in New Zealand is not a crying evil. The favorite alcoholic beverage is beer, while statistics from police-court records show that the results of over indulgence are far more often mischievous than criminal. In conjunction with each triennial election is held a licensing poll. Three alternatives are submitted: National continuance, State purchase and control of liquor trade, national prohibition. In 1925 the hopes of the "drys" rose, the majority votes in favor of continuance and State control being only 36,000 over votes for prohibition. As the law stands, in order for the Dominion to become "dry" prohibition must show a majority over



WILLIAM F. MASSEY

Conservative Prime Minister of New Zealand from 1912 until his death in 1925



Ewing Galloway

AUCKLAND HARBOR

New Zealand's largest seaport, which in 1927 had a population of more than 200,000

continuance and State control combined.

In 1927 a determined effort was made in Parliament to alter this law. State control was to be eliminated, leaving a clear-cut issue—continuance or prohibition—a bare majority for either to carry the day. Although not successful, this attempt brought home to the people the real possibility of their country becoming dry; a change for which the bulk of them were by no means prepared, as was illustrated by the figures for 1928, which showed a startling jump to a majority of 144,000 votes in favor of continuance or State control, as opposed to prohibition. With so definite a decision against prohibition, the next question is whether the triennial licensing poll shall be dropped, tending as it does to confuse broader issues at election times.

There are actually twelve dry districts in the Dominion which have a triennial opportunity of becoming wet.

On only one occasion up to now has such a change taken place.

New Zealand's relations with Great Britain are increasingly satisfactory. That Great Britain was justified in granting the Dominion complete autonomy was amply proved in the war, when a blaze of loyalty and devotion to the cause of the Mother Country swept through the land from end to end. More than 10 per cent of New Zealand's total population served as troops and nurses, sustaining casualties to the extent of 58,000, including 16,700 who were killed. This was out of a population of little over a million.

An adherent to the principle of small preferential tariffs in favor of British imports since 1841, the Dominion in her tariff acts of 1921 and 1927 widened the disparity in the duty, as between goods of British and foreign origin, until today a fairly general 20 per cent duty exists in favor of the Empire.

New Zealand wants no ambassadors at foreign courts; she frankly admits that she must stand or fall with Great Britain and her navy.

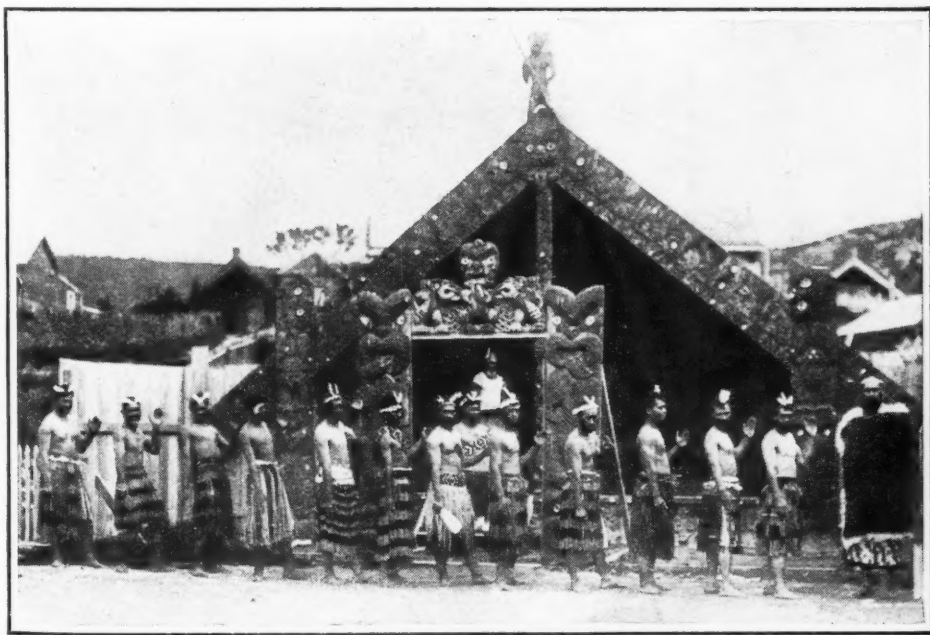
She also realizes that her very existence depends on her ability to ship produce to her overseas markets. Toward this end she is paying £100,000 annually as a contribution toward the naval force for the protection of trade in Australian and New Zealand waters. Commencing in 1927 she began paying £1,000,000 in eight annual instalments toward the naval base at Singapore.

Included in the original geographical boundaries of the Dominion are several small islands. To these were added in 1901 the Cook Islands, which have a total trade, mainly in copra and tropical fruits, amounting to £130,000, of which two-thirds comes to New Zealand.

New Zealanders at no time relished the presence of so ambitious a power as Germany in the near-by islands of Samoa. They consequently laid claim to these colonies after the war and were

granted mandatory powers over them, with a proviso that they should become part of the Dominion should the natives at any time desire it and the League of Nations approve. At the moment relations with a portion of the Samoans are not happy. This is due partly to trouble fomented by a small body of traders for their own ends and partly to over anxiety on the part of the administration to improve the lot of the islanders. The latter, like all natives, are jealous of their customs and privileges with which some of the measures enacted have clashed unwittingly. There is every hope, however, that wise measures bred of experience will soon re-establish good relations.

New Zealand's own natives, on the other hand, are presenting no difficulties. Probably nowhere in the world are natives accepted on such equal terms with the whites as are the Maoris. Not only have they equal legal rights, and four members of their own race to represent them in Parliament, but they are literally treated as equals in every-



Keystone

NEW ZEALAND NATIVES

Maoris lined up for a war dance before the chief's hut, which is decorated with characteristic native wood carvings

day intercourse. Nor are they spoiled by this treatment. Although there was evidence of a decrease in the Maori population since the advent of the whites, they are now steadily increasing in numbers. This increase is, however, accompanied by a considerable dilution of blood. In census returns halfcastes and intermediate grades are termed Maoris, so that no definite figures are available. It is probable that the number of diluted blood mount to 10,000 out of the 64,000 forming the present native population. Some 6,000 children attend the native schools, of which there are 134, and modern Maori

children have been found to learn as quickly as do white children of corresponding ages.

Maoris still hold 4,300,000 acres of land, some of which they farm themselves; while some is farmed for their benefit by Maori land-boards. They also possess large numbers of sheep, cattle and horses. The land held by them is of two kinds: customary land and native freehold land. Customary land is held by natives under the customs and usages of the Maori people, and can not now be alienated. Native freehold land is held under an English freehold title and is subject to certain restrictions on alienation.



Maori warrior in 1778

To and From Our Readers

[The Editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

Erratum: The pictures of Dr. John Grier Hibben and of Professor Edwin Kemmerer on page 23 of the Pictorial Section have been inadvertently reversed.

* * *

THE WAR-GUILT CONTROVERSY

To the Editor of *Current History*:

Professor Slosson bases his case against Germany on the following allegations: "Germany's unconditional offer of support to Austria, the rejection of the British peace intervention and the declaration of war on France and Russia while negotiations were still proceeding." What are the facts in the premises?

Germany did not make an unconditional offer of support. In the first draft the offer was "under all conditions," but Bethmann-Hollweg eliminated these words before the document was sent to Austria. Further, Germany abandoned support of Austria after July 27 and tried to restrain her. Germany did not reject the British peace intervention. Out of the six peace plans presented in 1914 Germany accepted five, and for the one rejected she substituted one which Grey himself admitted was better than the one rejected. Her record was far better in this respect than that of either Russia or France. Germany declared war on Russia only after the general Russian mobilization, which the Russians knew would force a German declaration of war. She declared war on France only after giving France a chance to state that she would not join Russia in an attack on Germany. France refused to make any such promise. Nor were negotiations really in operation when Germany declared war. Sazonov himself has confessed that he abandoned negotiations on July 28, days before the Germans declared war on Russia. And France informed Izvolski that she had decided for war "with hearty high spirits" more than twenty-four hours before Germany declared war on France.

Professor Slosson says that he is chiefly convinced of German guilt because of the weakness of the German defense. He then cites one statement of von Jagow out

of context and represents this as "Germany's case." He does not refer to the real statement of Germany's case in Count Montgelas's masterly work *The Case for the Central Powers*.

Professor Slosson cites Professor Fay's judgment that Count Berchtold, who had full control of Austria's foreign policy in 1914, should bear the chief responsibility for precipitating the war, to corroborate his own view. But Fay's judgment of Austria is admitted even by his friends to be the weakest part of his book, and now that the new Austrian documents have been published, it is quite unsupportable. Professor Slosson puts Baron Holstein second in guilt for the war, because of his bitterly hostile policy toward England in the 1890s. Has he not read Professor Fay's book or the British offers which Holstein opposed were, in the first place, wholly inadequate to Germany and, in the second place, were not supported by the British Cabinet in wholehearted fashion? But the weakness of this critic's position is most clearly shown by his placing the Kaiser third in rank for the war's responsibility. The official documents and other evidence now at our disposal prove that during his reign and during the crisis of July, 1914, his Majesty's influence was always directed in behalf of peace. And his promise to fulfill his treaty obligations when appealed to by the Austrian Emperor was amply justified by the infamous murder of the heir to the Dual Monarchy, besides other criminal acts of the Serbian State, as is now generally admitted by informed historians. When Professor Slosson puts the onus of initiative in 1914 on Austria and her "big brother" Germany, he forgets Serbia and the assassination of the Archduke, as well as the protection of the nation of assassins by "big brother" Russia.

While refraining from challenging my statements in regard to Lansing, Scott and the 1919 Commission of Fifteen, Professor Slosson expresses doubt that the victorious Entente based the German

penalties solely on the assumption of Germany's war guilt. Though he was at the Versailles Peace Conference he cannot presume to know better than the men who made the treaty what was in their minds, and Clemenceau and Lloyd George both explicitly declared that Germany was solely responsible and that the claim of reparations reposed upon this basis, and with this view M. Poincaré concurred. Even the United States Government in its note of March 29, 1921, to the German Foreign Minister, aligned itself with this interpretation.

In conclusion: Professor Slosson says that he does not believe in any German plot, but he uses the same arguments as those who do. More is to be said of the logic of those who stick resolutely to the war-time story than of those who give lip service to the progress of scholarship and then stand in the shoes of the epic-mongers.

T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY.

Summit, N. J.

* * *

The Editor has received a number of letters commenting on Mr. St. John Gaffney's contribution on Germany's war responsibility and Professor Slosson's reply.

"E. M. S.," who signs himself "Presidential Secretary of the World Federation of Promoters of Culture," Newark, N. J., referring to former United States Senator Owen and Judge Bausman, whose qualifications as historians Professor Slosson questions, writes:

As I read Mr. Gaffney's article, I do not grasp that he introduced the names of these gentlemen as "witnesses" but included them in a partial list of distinguished Americans who have repudiated the verdict of sole guilt extorted from Germany at Versailles. Both are lawyers of distinction. Mr. Owen served seventeen years in the United States Senate and during the war was a staunch supporter of Wilson's war politics. After the peace the Senator devoted considerable study to the origin of the war, and in a remarkable speech in the United States Senate, delivered Dec. 18, 1923, he disavowed all his previous opinions in regard to the alleged guilt of the Central Powers. Since then he has published a book, entitled *The Russian Imperial Conspiracy, 1892-1914*, dealing with the responsibility for the outbreak of the war, which entirely exonerated Germany.

Mr. Bausman is a former member of the Supreme Court of the State of Washington, and is the author of *Let France Explain* and *Facing Europe*. Both of these volumes deal with the war and its aftermath, and are well known to students of war literature.

* * *

Another correspondent writes:

A recent editorial in *The New York Times* regarding "The Potsdam Kronrath" article in February CURRENT HISTORY, states that

It has not yet been established that in July of that year (1914) there was not held a serious meeting at which war prospects were discussed. But proof of what Von Wangenheim ("my own Ambassador," scornfully writes Wilhelm) told at Constantinople is distinctly lacking.

You do not have to prove a self-evident

truth; and the world at large will not hesitate to accept the Kaiser's positive statement, proving an alibi as sufficient proof that

He makes out an excellent case for his denial that there ever was a crown council at which definitely—a month before the Belgian advance began—he determined on a European war.

If no other proof of the validity of this contention were available, that proof could be found in the confession of Mr. Winston Churchill, in which he states (as a bar to his being let out of the British Cabinet in 1915 on account of the inglorious Gallipoli affair) that on July 4, 1914, less than one week after the Crown Prince of Austria was murdered at Sarajevo, he, as First Lord of the Admiralty, caused the entire British Navy, the most powerful belligerent force in existence, to be mobilized and sent to base headquarters prepared to beat the Germans the very moment the menacing World War broke out.

Like all European wars that conflict "revolved around Constantinople."

It were better to ask Earl Grey, British Foreign Minister at the time, who it was that threw all the world into chaos in 1914 than to seek the cause in a garbled conversation, passed along by many mouths and padded for a purpose.

No one can read, dispassionately, the correspondence which took place between the Kaiser and the Emperor of Austria early in July, 1914, without placing perfect faith in the sincerity of the former when he implied that Germany did not wish to get mixed up in the Sarajevo affair; but insisted that the Austrians should not allow the Central Powers to be licked again in a diplomatic wrangle as they were in the Moccoco case, when England declared that she would unite with France in war against Germany if belligerence ensued.

I, for one, who have seen much of the "Secrets of the Bosphorus," published for Mr. Henry Morgenthau, some of which have never been printed, and have gone carefully over all the official records of this country's archives, showing the whereabouts of leading German officials in pre-war days, feel warranted in vouching for the correctness of the Kaiser's statement, given in February CURRENT HISTORY, that "the disputed 'Kronrath'" of July 5, 1914, never did take place.

* * *

To the Editor of Current History:

Professor Slosson's article on German war guilt is an example of the amazing change that has come over the spirit of those who clamored for the blood of the Kaiser and in the deep chest tones of conviction declared that the Germans were not human being in the sense that the term applies to Englishmen, Frenchmen, and (I suppose) Russians and Japanese. His philosophy, as expressed in the article, seems to me a labored attempt to establish an affirmative by a series of negations. He maintains that Germany was guilty and that the verdict pronounced upon her at Versailles is well deserved. But he benevolently qualifies his conclusion by declaring that "nobody with an opinion worth hearing believes any longer * * * in a Pan-German conspiracy to conquer the world," while the Kaiser's sinister purpose to indulge in an orgy of blood is reduced to the phrase "abstract guilt." Again we read in Professor Slosson's defense of his thesis

that Germany was held accountable, not unqualifiedly, but "theoretically," by those who joined in incorporating Article CCXXXI in the Treaty of Versailles. Throughout his article there is this hedging and covering.

It is hard to agree with Professor Slosson that nothing practical is involved in revising Article CCXXXI except a concession "for satisfying German sentiment." If that were all, it should suffice. From the point of view that the world desires peace and international understandings, that should be enough for us to doom it. Professor Slosson is decidedly in error if he thinks the 4,000,000 votes cast in the national referendum represented consolidated German sentiment on the question. As a trained historian it should not be necessary to remind him that a disarmed country, on the eve of negotiating a treaty that might mean life or death to it (the Young plan), is perforce compelled to exercise discretion. But Professor Slosson may rest assured that 98 per cent of all Germans resent the implication of Article CCXXXI for its intrinsic falsity and vindictiveness. If the charge in Article CCXXXI is true, then imperial Germany was a felon. And, since Professor Slosson speaks of Germany's "theoretic" accountability, of "the abstract guilt of the Kaiser," the folly of believing "any longer * * * in a Pan-German conspiracy to conquer the world," of his belief that "Berchtold was the chief author of the war," and that the Kaiser "probably desired peace," he stands inferentially committed to the conviction that an unpardonable error was made by the commission in formulating the article amid the then prevailing state of universal paranoia. And if Germany is not the unconscionable felon it is made to appear in Article CCXXXI, Professor Slosson should manfully array himself on the side of the revisionists.

One last word in behalf of former Senator Owen and Mr. Frederick Bausman and those revisionists who have not had a divine summons to a college chair of history but who have nevertheless presumed to attack the theory of a guilty nation. Mr. Owen is a distinguished lawyer, student and linguist. Mr. Bausman was for years a Supreme Court judge in a Western State. Both are therefore trained jurists, and both know better than some historians the vital difference between evidence and testimony. Both predicated their conclusions regarding the falsity of all that Article CCXXXI implies upon evidence that has not been challenged. The error of those who formulated the article, as I see it, was that they badly confused testimony with evidence; and some historians still err in this respect. But, though these legal minds are not acceptable to him, it is plain that he is no more tolerant of revisionist brethren of his own cloth, since he has no better opinion of their conclusions than he has of those who, according to him, have no standing in court. Apparently, then, those historians only are in good odor with him who either are in accord with his views or who "divide the responsibility between both belligerent groups," "make Russia the villain of the piece," or England. None, however, by Professor Slosson's own showing, accept the indictment of Article CCXXXI. Wherefore, I say, an amazing change has set in since Article CCXXXI was drafted, and that being so, I agree with Mr. Gaffney that we should cleanse our skirts of the obliquity of per-

petuating a mischievous falsehood so pregnant with the seeds of future wars.

FREDERICK FRANKLIN SCHRADER,
New York Steuben Club.

* * *

Leonid I. Strakovsky, D. Hist. Sc., Lecturer at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, writes that in his judgment the failure of the Kaiser to repudiate the Potsdam Conference during the lifetime of Von Wangenheim, upon whom "he is putting all the blame," raises a doubt respecting the denial. Regarding Mr. Gaffney's statement that "the injustice and the fatuities of this (Versailles) treaty will be an unending source of irritation to the generations to come," he says:

Fully agreeing with this point of view on the part of the German people, one must deplore the fatal mistake of Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson for not having negotiated that treaty with Germany. The treaty is imposed upon the people, and therefore can be considered as unjust and fatuous. But Mr. Gaffney states further: "They are too flagrant to be forgotten, the more particularly because they are in violation of the fourteen points upon which the Germans laid down their arms" (p. 881). And here is Mr. Gaffney's error, because the German people laid down their arms not on the conditions expressed in the fourteen points but on those contained in a letter from Secretary of State Robert Lansing to Mr. Hans Sulzer, Minister of Switzerland, in charge of German interests in the United States, who had asked on behalf of the German Government to know the conditions on the basis of which the Allied and Associated Governments were willing to conclude an armistice with Germany and to negotiate peace.

This letter, dated Nov. 5, 1918, contains the following passage:

"Further, in the conditions of peace laid down in his address to Congress of Jan. 8, 1918, the President declared that invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and freed, and the allied governments feel that no doubt ought to be allowed to exist as to what this provision implies. By it they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damages done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air." (P. 456. Author's italics).

Therefore, there is no doubt whatsoever that when the German delegation met Marshal Foch, in order to conclude an armistice, it knew exactly to what kind of terms it had to submit. And if we take Article CCXXXI, we find that its text is only a paraphrase of President Wilson's terms which were submitted to the Germans before even the conclusion of an armistice, and as a condition to such.

"The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies."

As to the much-debated question of war guilt, one is aware at present of the conditions in Europe that inevitably had to lead to the outbreak of the war. Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt of the University of Chicago, in reviewing four outstanding works on the origins of the war, says: "All four writers agree that the Vienna Cabinet proposed to utilize the murder as an excuse for war with Serbia, provided the support of Berlin could be assured." If so, then, there can be no disagreement concerning the actual war guilt, or better to say the responsibility of the war, because the facts speak for themselves. These facts, establishing the responsibility of Germany and her allies (Austria-Hungary in the first place), are brought forward in the Treaty of Versailles, but

not in Article CCXXI. They are contained in the preamble, and due to their nature could not be questioned by Germany or anybody else.

"The Allied and Associated Powers, being equally desirous that the war in which they were successively involved, directly or indirectly, and which originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on July 28, 1914, against Serbia, the declaration of war by Germany against Russia on Aug. 1, 1914, and against France on Aug. 3, 1914, and in the invasion of Belgium, should be replaced by a firm, just and durable peace" (p. 3).

Therefore, we may ask ourselves: If declaration of war and invasion of a territory is not aggression, what is aggression? And if a party to a conflict that serves the first blow is not responsible for the act, what is responsibility?

* * *

BULGARIA'S PLIGHT

St. Omarchevsky writes from Sofia, Bulgaria:

Things in Bulgaria this year seem darker than ever before—every one can see that things are going from bad to worse. The World War and peace treaties not only took away from us some of the most productive lands but also burdened us with very heavy reparations, which will, in due time, unless reduced or done away with altogether, practically ruin the country.

Much has been said, written or expressed about world peace, but this can hardly be expected while such great injustices prevail. No Bulgarian, regardless of his place of present residence, but feels this heavy burden and tries to find some way out of it. No unprejudiced foreigner has visited our land but has seen the sad expression on the faces of the people; nay, more sad faces than hardly anywhere on the globe.

The standard of living in this country is lower than it has been at any time before. The people, at least the greater majority, do not live—they simply exist. They cannot live, because anything they could save in order to improve living conditions goes to meet heavy international obligations. As for cultural attainments, better not speak about such—everything is being neglected or at least deferred for "better days to come," which however, do not seem to be in sight.

The Hague Conference did hardly anything to help us. It showed a great deal of sympathy toward Austria and Hungary, but we had to sign an agreement which binds us to pay 11½ million gold francs annually for thirty-seven years. This makes a total of 415,242,808 gold francs, a tremendous amount for this country, indeed. It represents one-quarter of our national wealth.

We think, then, that we are justified in saying there is no justice in Europe, and as far as it is said to exist it serves only to mask the triumph of might over right!

* * *

INDIA AND CHINA

Tilton Steele, former merchant at Calcutta and Boston, residing in San Francisco, regarding references to India and China in February CURRENT HISTORY, writes:

Regarding India: Over 90 per cent of the native population is illiterate, unable to read and write in any one of the 147 languages of the country, and without prejudice to the political aspirations of some 10 per cent of the natives of the country—the most practical things for these would-be

home rulers to do is to begin right at home and to work their way from the ground up, the most natural way to prepare the people for parliamentary rule.

Regarding China: On the question of abrogating or abolishing the extraterritorial treaties now existing between China and certain great powers, as a necessary condition for the immediate realization of the "Chinese three principles"—the Asiatic mind works from the clouds down, Eastern fashion, instead of from the ground up, our Western way.

"They stand in the way of Chinese national development," echoes Mr. Chih Mai Chen, in the regulation manner of Young China. As a matter of fact, the new Chinese nationalism is a foreign innovation—an introduction into Chinese life of a new sort of political solidarity by Western educated Chinese—and the bulk of the native Chinese have yet to be educated to appreciate this new-fangled thing.

The Chinese people have virtually enjoyed home rule for thousands of years—the socio-political fruits of those self-same "three principles," and in all their history have never yet been called upon to exercise their political rights further than local interest: required or dictated. It will take perhaps two or three generations for the average Chinaman in the interior to comprehend the full meaning of nationalism in the republican sense, or to get him to give up his ancient Confucian customs—his worship of his ancestors, his rigid allegiance to his family and clan, his abject subservience to local authorities, the representatives of the Tutchuns or Governors of each province. These last-named "die-hards" will be the hardest to get rid of; much harder to oust than the "foreign" devils in the treaty ports.

So that, instead of barking up the wrong tree, and trying to disrupt existing international arrangements at the treaty ports, as "menacing their national development," Young China should rather aim to break up the power of the Tutchuns and their underlings, the overlords and the little lords that "stand in the way of Chinese national development" throughout the country.

The treaty ports have been built up out of practically nothing—by Westerners—with Western capital largely and Western initiative and enterprise entirely, and it took generations of them to create those big cities on the Chinese coast and to successfully administer their affairs, without the slightest cooperation on the part of the Chinese Government, excepting only in such matters as benefited its own nationals.

The mere mouthing of such phrases as "racial equality," "sovereign rights," "self-determination of peoples," is not going to solve any national problems, nor will hard-headed Western business men, with both life and property at stake in the treaty ports, consent to further jeopardize them under Chinese rule, or rather misrule, because "subjection of one race to another is incompatible with the Chinese three principles." When these principles are put to work and have made good among the Chinese themselves, it will be time enough for the foreign powers in the treaty ports to sit up and take notice.

* * *

PORTO RICO'S DUTY

Robert J. Caldwell, New York:

It is of no use, in my judgment, for Porto Rico to attempt to withstand modern practice industrially, governmentally or otherwise. Surely Porto Rico does not want to continue to live in the age of ox carts, and I venture the opinion that she cannot if she would. This progressiveness is not American alone—it is world wide. Consider Japan, for example, and consider how Russia is applying it. In the midst of the many stupid things she is doing, this one thing she is doing right. Now the thing for Porto Rico to do is to get in step with the times and not let American exploiters run away with the island. Canada was confronted by this and took her own affairs in hand with

great success. Study Canada. Porto Ricans should exploit their island themselves and not leave it to Americans, or, if they cannot do that for the present, then they could enter into partnership with Americans or other foreigners who have the money, but even this would not ameliorate the condition of the workers. America's prosperity did not sift down to the workers until the American Federation of Labor took things in hand. What you need is a branch of the American Federation of Labor in Porto Rico, to see that the workingman gets his just dues, but sitting down there under a southern sun and bemoaning your fate will not improve it any. The thing is to be up and doing. Go after your rights, and then you will command some attention. If the American Government does not do the right thing—and when did any one ever know any government to do the right thing at all times—go after the American Government in the American press.

* * *

The Editor of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE acknowledges his indebtedness to the N. C. W. C. News Service, the Associated Press for the Catholic Papers in the United States and Canada, for transmitting to him the official Roman translation of the Pope's Encyclical on Education, obtained by its service at the same time that it was transmitted to its clients, several days in advance of its being made public at Rome.

* * *

T. H. Lowry writes from Fitzsimmons Hospital, Denver, Col., regarding former United States Senator Bruce's criticism of Bertrand Russell's *New Morality*, in March CURRENT HISTORY:

"I was stunned at such antiquated views. The theory of primitive promiscuity has been exploded so often and so thoroughly that a list of modern living authorities who today maintain that 'Woman, as a rule, was the communal property of every male member of the tribe,' would be interesting.

"Westermarck can be considered by all one of the chief authorities, and I wonder if Mr. Bruce has ever read the first volume of his *History of Human Marriage*. If so, it would indeed be interesting to hear the learned ex-Senator refute the evidence and controvert the conclusions of the distinguished anthropologist. Likewise, the statement 'polyandrous women * * * belong to the lowest levels of savage existence only,' sadly needs bolstering by factual proof."

* * *

L. L. Kisselintcheff, who signs himself "Vice President of the Central Committee of the Macedonian Political Organization of the United States and Canada," writes "on behalf of our oppressed compatriots" suffering from "the tyrannical and unhuman régime maintained in our fatherland."

"So far, unfortunately, no due attention has been given to petitions of Macedonian organizations addressed to the League of Nations because they have come from Macedonian emigrants and not from the Macedonian population in Macedonia. This contention, however, is made without taking into consideration the fact that to this population organizations of a national character are denied and it is forbidden them to seek legally and freely their lost rights and liberties.

"To this strange attitude adopted by the League of Nations an eloquent reply is made by the petition, presented to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, Sir Eric Drummond, in person, by our compatriots—Dimitre Shaleff and Dimitre Ilieff—legitimate representatives delegated by the Macedonian population residing within the borders of Yugoslavia. This petition repudiates the claim of the Belgrade Government that there are no Bulgarians in Macedonia, and proves that between the Macedonian organizations in Europe and America, and the population inside of Macedonia, there exists a complete solidarity of purpose and means. This does away with the false rumors that the Macedonian question is artificially maintained from the outside, and that 'the white population of Macedonia is entirely satisfied' under the rule of its intruders.

"This time the voice of enslaved Macedonia—so carefully and cautiously stifled by terror, blood and tears until now—comes directly from her heart. Belgrade will have to give up the naive assertion that there are no Bulgarians in Macedonia and the League of Nations will have to cease to accept such a cynical statement as true. Over Belgrade and the League of Nations public opinion stands as a supreme judge, whose duty it is to give a helping hand to the just cause of an unfortunate but heroic nation."

* * *

J. F. Santee of the Oregon Normal School at Monmouth, Ore., in commenting on Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart's statement in January CURRENT HISTORY regarding "violent revolutions" in the Latin-American States in the past half century, writes:

What "violent revolutions," for instance, have Argentina and Brazil experienced since 1880? The writer can learn of no civil disturbances within the above-named countries worthy of such harsh characterization. In few of the Latin-American countries have there been fratricidal conflicts at all comparable to our Civil War. Just a little more than forty years ago Brazil experienced a bloodless revolution. In a day this great nation changed from an empire to a republic. Brazil, too, was able to emancipate her slaves without going into hysterics similar to those in which we indulged. Lynch law plays its great role in the Anglo-Saxon United States, not in the leading countries of South America. Calm Nordic and mercurial Latin! Another "fable agreed upon."

* * *

Elsewhere in Dr. Hart's article it is said of our sister republic to the south, "not one of them has a republican government in the American sense." What is a "republican government in the American sense"? In so far as our 12,000,000 Negro citizens are concerned, we surely do not have a "government of the people, by the people and for the people." Our colored population is under as absolute a despotism as even the most highly imaginative scenario writer could depict as existing in a "banana republic" of the movies. Is the government of Chicago republican "in the American sense"? Life and property, at least, are safer in Santiago, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro than in the Windy City.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Continued from Page 15

in the state of anxiety which characterizes Europe in this time. There is nowhere any feeling of security, "precisely because the French talk so much about it." The Treaties of Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon must be revised, peaceably, under Article XIX of the Covenant. The situations in Upper Silesia and the Polish Corridor, unless modified by such treaty revision, "render impossible any permanent peace." And if war breaks out, communism will profit thereby to conquer Europe. These are the high points of a well-reasoned résumé of the conservative German attitude.

The German conservative, as represented by Dr. Hoetzsch, bears no resemblance to those blustering Pan-Germans of whom we used to read in war-time propaganda pamphlets. His ideal is almost Mazzinian in its emphasis upon the free participation of every individual in a national State life. The texts he quotes with most devastating effect in denouncing the present state of affairs in Europe are borrowed from the speeches of Woodrow Wilson. He describes a younger generation which is coming to look upon the war, almost without bitterness, as a terrible fate that came unavoidably upon Europe, the expression in politics of a disorder and disharmony that was equally felt in other fields of culture. Since he speaks as the representative of a party which, more than any other, has been counted the bearer of the "revenge" idea in German politics, his words call for careful scrutiny. They show that reconciliation in Europe will be difficult indeed, but not impossible.

The Naval Blockade 1914-1918

By JONATHAN F. SCOTT

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, NEW YORK
UNIVERSITY

ENGLAND'S entry into the great war insured the Allies command of the seas. After having virtually swept German shipping from the seas the Allies settled down to the difficult task of preventing Germany from receiving much needed supplies from abroad under neu-

tral flags. To accomplish their purpose they instituted the so-called "Naval Blockade," the story of which is lucidly told in the book here reviewed, by M. Louis Guichard, Doctor of Law and Lieutenant in the French Navy.* In making his study he has drawn on recently revealed material from the French archives.

According to the Declaration of Paris of 1856, which had been accepted by all the great powers fighting in 1914, a blockade to be legal must be effective. But it was virtually impossible for the Allies to patrol the Baltic thoroughly and prevent trade between Germany and the Scandinavian countries. On the other hand, it would have been of little use merely to blockade the rest of Germany's coast. So the Allies directed their major efforts to preventing goods from reaching Germany through neutral countries, particularly through the Scandinavian countries and Holland. "The Central Empires, therefore," says M. Guichard, "never were blockaded in the legal sense of the word."

As time passed, the Allies were constrained to make their economic encirclement of Germany more and more stringent. To this end they adopted various measures. To prevent certain kinds of goods from being exported to neutral countries and then re-exported to Germany, they set up International Quota Commissions to determine how much of these goods these countries ought normally to receive from abroad for their own use, and they then tried to prevent them from importing goods in excess of the quotas assigned. They extended progressively the list of goods which they considered contraband until at the end of the war "practically every single article of commerce had become contraband." Their attempts to enforce these and other regulations naturally involved the Allies in flagrant breaches of international law and in wrangles and adjustments with neutrals which M. Guichard discusses at some length.

In achieving their main aim the Allies were increasingly successful. The value of Germany's foreign trade fell from £1,180,000,000 in 1913 to £160,000,000 in 1918. The Germans suffered frightfully from a shortage of cotton, copper, fertilizers, oils,

**The Naval Blockade, 1914-1918.* By Lieutenant Louis Guichard. Translated and edited by Christopher R. Twiner, 321 pp. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$3.50.

fats and food. The extraordinary ingenuity of chemists in finding substitutes alleviated conditions temporarily, but by the time of the armistice the plight of the people was desperate. M. Guichard does not claim that economic encirclement was more important than all other operations, military and naval, in defeating Germany, but he does say that in the light of the facts "it seems impossible to deny that the enfeeblement of Germany was one of the main factors of victory."

Sherman: Soldier, Realist, American

By THOMAS R. HAY

IT has remained for a distinguished English military writer to give us the most satisfactory account yet published of General Sherman and his career.* The flow of the narrative is smooth and easy to read; there is no sensational treatment, but a reasoned and generally fair consideration of this distinguished soldier and man. Written from the Northern viewpoint, without sufficient consideration of the problems affecting Confederate leadership and action, the book may not make friends of those who have been Sherman's foes, but at least it will enable a better understanding of the man and his motives. Free from diverting footnotes, but with the authorities listed at the end, it can be read with equal benefit and profit by the layman and the specialist.

Throughout his life Sherman was a hard-headed realist, who, when others allowed their prejudices, passions, and ambitions to rule, insisted on taking reason as his guide and through all the turmoil and confusion of war "kept his



GENERAL SHERMAN

feet on the ground, his head above water, his eyes fixed on the far bank." It is Sherman, the realist, who interests the author. The account of his military career and achievement is orthodox and conventional; the consideration of Sherman as an American is incidental; but the interpretation of Sherman as a realist, one of the most forthright, out-spoken, and original characters in American history, seems to the reviewer to be peculiarly original. Sherman "judged the case of the Southern Confederacy more acutely and dispassionately than almost any of his contemporaries" but all he got for his pains was to be broadcast by his pet abomination—the press—as an "insane" man. Until after the battle of Shiloh he was under a cloud. Fresh from the South, Sherman knew the temper of its people and was convinced that the country was in for "a long war, * * * much longer than any politician thinks!"

Captain Hart has sought to explain Sherman's method of waging war in terms of his psychological and materialistic development. He considers Sherman as a master of grand strategy, "the first modern General—and hitherto the only one," who conceived of strategy as "not merely the fore-runner, but the master of tactics, for the purpose of strategy is to minimize fighting and it fulfills this purpose by playing on the mind of the opponent." To this extent then "war unexpectedness and mobility are the master-keys of generalship opening many doors that no physical weight can force." The World War "did not produce a second Sherman; nor did the Armistice." This is high praise indeed, even though perhaps too generous. In his enthusiasm Captain Hart credits Sherman with being "the decisive military agent" in ending the war. It is true his "prophetic vision" correctly estimated that the war would be won in the West and it was there that he achieved his greatest successes, but it was Grant, the Commander-in-Chief, who was "the decisive military agent," not Sherman.

The narrative of Sherman's military career in terms of critical evaluation is not so satisfactory as it might be. The discussion of the "surprise" at Shiloh is rather ingenuous and does not absolve Sherman. The author says: "The fundamental cause of the initial collapse at Shiloh was not that the Union forces were surprised by the enemy, but that they themselves were surprised at having to

**Sherman: Soldier, Realist, American.* By B. H. Liddell Hart. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1929. \$5.

stand on the defensive. For this they were physically ready, but mentally unready." However, Sherman learned from this experience, just as he did from his Vicksburg experience. His decision, after the capture of Atlanta to dispense with his base of operations and his lines of communications and to live off the country was but making use of the lesson Grant had taught him at Vicksburg when he moved down the Mississippi below Vicksburg to attack the fortress from the rear. Sherman had opposed the move, but his sense of appreciation of the principle caused him to adopt it as a part of his grand strategy and at the first opportunity he made an amazingly thorough and successful demonstration of it.

At Chattanooga Sherman's performance was not up to his usual standard. The author, on his part, tells the story of the battle in the usual conventional, but demonstrably incorrect, way. The narrative of the campaign to Atlanta takes no account of the Confederate leadership, especially after Hood took command, nor does it consider the disparity in numbers and resources. In this campaign Sherman usually outnumbered his opponent two to one and in the march through Georgia and the Carolinas the odds at times were as much as four to one. Sherman's army was cohesive and closely articulated; well equipped, well fed, and well led. The Confederate opposition possessed none of these characteristics. It was weak in numbers and grew weak in morale; poorly equipped and at the end poorly led, without unity of command or purpose. Its only aim became to prolong a hopeless defense "with no other object," as General Johnston said, "than to obtain fair terms of peace." All of which raises the question as to what would have been Sherman's place in history had he been opposed by more nearly equal force.

It is with the spectacular and destructive march through Georgia that Sherman's name and fame are most closely associated. Whether the credit for its original suggestion was Grant's or Sherman's it is probable that both of them had it in mind as a proper move to make, once Atlanta was safely taken. Sherman made the march with Grant's approval, leaving General Thomas to defend Nashville, the backdoor to the North, and to dispose of the Confederate Army under Hood. Sherman took a great risk in moving east from Atlanta with Hood and his army loose in his rear, but he had implicit confidence

in Thomas. His unorthodox strategy and boldness deceived Hood and Davis, because he did the very thing they thought he would not dare to do until Hood had been safely disposed of. In the sequel Thomas more than justified Sherman's confidence and insured imperishable fame for both of them.

Captain Hart's treatment of Thomas is almost as critical and unsympathetic as was that of Sherman and his partisans. Criticism of Thomas begins early in the narrative and increases to a climax in the discussion of the battle of Nashville. Suffice it to say that Thomas commanded the only large Northern army that was able to drive its opponent, decisively beaten and demoralized, from the field of battle. The indispensable condition of success for Sherman was that Thomas should dispose of Hood. Failure to do so would have nullified all the gain of Sherman's march and would have forced his return to oppose Hood. Almost without exception, the account of this Tennessee campaign is, from any point of view, the least satisfactory in the book.

The death of Sherman's son shortly after the fall of Vicksburg seemed to induce "a hardening of his attitude toward the war and the South. Exceptionally free from personal venom, undeflected by popular passions, he was more and more developing a logical ruthlessness, which was fostered by his increasingly acute sense that the issue of the struggle rested in the will of the Southern people and not in the bodies of their troops." A Puritan ancestry and three generations of judges were beginning to assert themselves. He would not rush into war unprepared and with an utter ignorance of its extent and purpose. And so, he was "then construed unsound," even "vindictive." He would "make this war as severe as possible and show no symptom of tiring till the South begs for mercy * * * [for] the end would be reached quicker than by any seeming yielding on our part! * * * the war must be not only carried to its logical end but carried out in its logical extreme." Sherman came to understand and to believe "that the resisting power of a modern democracy depends more on the strength of the popular will than on the strength of its armies, and that this will in turn depends largely upon economic and social security. To interrupt the ordinary life of the people and quench hope of its resumption is more effective than any mili-

tary result short of the complete destruction of the armies." But he wanted no punitive measures to follow the laying down of arms, but rather to "a foe who stands unarmed and submissive" he would say: "Go and sin no more." Lincoln himself was no more charitable.

In this "philosophy of war there was no room for vindictiveness and no excuse for post-war penalization." Because of the philosophy of this man who could "first oppose the war; then conduct it with iron severity; and finally seize the first real opportunity to make a peace of complete absolution," he appeared as "a bundle of contradictions." He cared little that his name should be execrated by the people of the South if only he could cure them of a taste for war. And to cure them he would violate a conventional code of modern war and deliberately "aim at the non-combatant foundation of the hostile war spirit instead of at its combatant roof" for "in logic and in fact, people make war, armies end it * * * 'Therefore I had to go through Georgia and let them see what war meant!'" His "logic may seem extreme, his implied verdict against the South may seem an unequitable assessment of the responsibility for the war" but the peace and the prosperity of this country "are its essential justification." That it was so long delayed in the South was not due to Sherman's method of waging war, but rather to the outrageous process of reconstruction carried out by selfish and vengeful politicians for whom no one had a greater contempt than did Sherman.

It is the irony of life and history that the bitterness engendered by Sherman's march through Georgia and the Carolinas should have taken its place alongside the hatred resulting from the debacle of reconstruction, though the leadership and intent of the one and the men and motives of the other were as far removed from each other as the poles. Sherman, the realist, made war to end war; the Radicals of Reconstruction welcomed peace to begin war. Memories of both still linger with varying intensity throughout the Southland and sometimes it is a question as to which are more vivid and bitter, remembrance of the destruction of Sherman's march or of the horrors of Reconstruction.

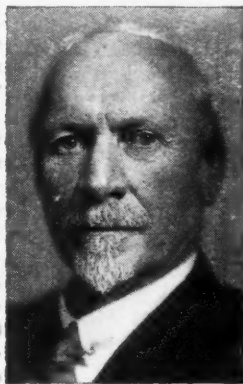
"War's over; occupation gone." With this cryptic remark Sherman, the realist, dramatically announced the last act of his career. All that followed was merely

epilogue. For a brief moment, though, following Stanton's panic-stricken repudiation of his peace terms with Johnston, Sherman again occupied the centre of the stage, but it was only a momentary interlude, in which the future was presaged. After it, Sherman passes into history.

Africa and Some World Problems

By C. V. VAN DER MERWE
FACULTY OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

IN THE first of a series of lectures delivered by General Smuts in England and Scotland and now assembled in the work here reviewed* the author introduces Livingstone, Southern Africa's greatest explorer and propagandist and the relentless foe of the slave trader. In passages of appealing charm the reader, inevitably roused by the recollection of the odds against the man and the physical suffering he endured, again treads the Livingstone trail through the interior of Africa across swamps and malaria-infested regions to the historic meeting-place at Ujiji, where Stanley uttered the words: "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" The end of the journey comes at length in May, 1873, at Ilala, south of Lake Bangweolo, where Livingstone's restless heart still rests amid African solitude.



Harris & Ewing
JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS

Stanley's exploration of the Upper Congo and his discovery of the Mountains of the Moon are traced as part of the prelude to the partition of Africa by European powers, who smoke-screened their scramble for land by protesting their anxiety to suppress the slave trade. Smuts should know the game, since he himself bore arms in a war of annexation waged for the alleged purpose of sweetening the

**Africa and Some World Problems*. By General J. C. Smuts. 179 pages. Oxford University Press. \$2.50.

cup of bitterness of a group of voteless millionaires. The soul of a son of the soil reveals itself in an eloquent plea for the preservation of Africa's "untamed wildness, its aloofness and solitude, and its mysterious, eerie, brooding spirit"—a vain hope, alas, in a world where efficiency has become the only door by which a successful man can enter.

In the first and second Rhodes Memorial lectures Smuts discusses African settlement and native policy in Africa. He favors European immigration as the only guarantee of a lasting civilization and as in the interest of the natives themselves. In his opinion land settlement as a major policy, which will insure the reservation of sufficient land for future native needs, can be an absolute safeguard against oppression. With regard to native policy he condemns the mistaken extremes of the past, viz., oppression, and its opposite, absolute brotherhood. He pleads for the free and spontaneous development of the native under European guidance, for the maintenance of native institutions and for the preservation of the authority of the chiefs. He favors territorial segregation, but strongly condemns industrial segregation and the color bar.

General Smuts's optimism is a great aid in the solution of such a baffling problem, but we confess to misgivings. For a generation, for several possibly, and then only in sparsely populated areas, his plan will work, and that is probably as much as can be expected from any native policy drafted by mere man. In the long run, however, European settlement and native discontinuation of "village dancing and singing" must lead to friction, and then, we fear, the weaker must go to the wall as usual. The determination not to go to the wall has undoubtedly led to the present policy of a "White South Africa," that is, of white standards of civilization for the "Union" of South Africa, of the Hertzog Government.

In his final Rhodes Memorial lecture on world peace Smuts covers familiar ground. Initial scepticism about the League of Nations has had to give way to faith in the disappearance of war and in the conference method of settling disputes. The author is in his stride in this lecture, wherein he urges peaceful methods of smoothing out international difficulties. With the aid of the Kellogg Peace Pact he suggests how the question

of the freedom of the seas may be settled, too.

In the heyday of his political power the author showed signs of impatience with the restraints of democracy: he still is impatient, although he affirms his faith in democratic liberty. Parliament, he points out, because of the paralyzing influence of the party system, no longer functions as it should, and politicians should be replaced by scientific experts. Practical objections to this might be urged. Would not the recommendations of this body of scientific experts have to pass through Parliament as the final authority? Would not this body ultimately seal its own doom by once too often recommending what the party in power is sure to turn down? Perhaps Smuts looks forward to a time when this body itself will be the final authority—a new glorified Parliament, ultimately destined to go the way of its predecessor.

Uniting Europe

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD
LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

ONLY a little more than twelve years have passed since the close of the great war, and if any one had predicted at that time a tenth of the progress toward reconciliation and reorganization that Professor Rappard records in this book,* he would have been regarded as a naive visionary. The goal is still far ahead; but it is encouraging to pause by the way and glance back over the road that has been traveled. As a delegate representing Switzerland at the Peace Conference and later in the Assembly of the League of Nations, as a member of the Permanent Mandates Commission, Professor Rappard has been inti-



SIR ERIC DRUMMOND
Secretary General of the
League of Nations

**Uniting Europe; The Trend of International Cooperation Since the War.* By William E. Rappard. 309 pages. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. \$3.

mately related to the progress which he describes, and his nationality and his scholarly mind give him an objectivity that adds greatly to the worth of his book.

In its first section, the political evolution of Russia, Germany, Austria and the Succession States is passed in rapid and masterly review. Everywhere there is progress toward democracy; and this despite the present European Dictatorships, which the author regards as "most interesting, as perhaps wholesome and necessary, but as essentially temporary phenomena."

The dislocation caused by the war and by the establishment of new national frontiers profoundly disturbed the whole economic structure of Europe; and it is only gradually becoming readjusted to the new conditions. In population and in production of goods, Europe has already passed the level of 1913; and as the per cent of production increase is greater than that of population, there has been a slight gain in per capita wealth. The intimacy of their geographical association and their necessary economic interdependence has forced the nations, even against their will, to relax somewhat the intensity of their nationalistic fervor. They have been compelled to an increasing cooperation, sometimes through the agencies set up by the League, but very often through those only indirectly influenced by it. The period of coercion, which began at Versailles and ended at the Ruhr, was a disastrous failure; but with the assembling of the Dawes commission a new era had its birth. Locarno followed, and finally the work of the Young commission. Scores of international organizations were established or re-established, with greater or less governmental aid and subvention. The Economic Conference of 1927 was a first step toward economic peace, as was the Washington Conference toward disarmament. Between 1919 and 1929, a total of 106 arbitration and conciliation treaties have been signed, and more important than them all is the Pact of Paris.

The final chapters, dealing with cooperation inside the framework of the League, compress within a small space an illuminating picture of development and accomplishment, of the transformation of the League from an organization for the enforcement of the Versailles Treaty to a forum for international discussion and a medium of international cooperation. Its coercive function tends to disappear.

Professor Rappard's orderly and inter-

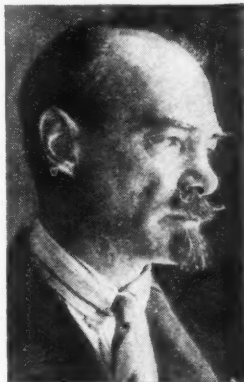
esting recital, prepared originally as a course of lectures at the Williamstown Institute, will clarify the ideas of those who are fairly familiar with the subject. For those who are discouraged and pessimistic, it will be an invaluable tonic.

Bryan, the Peerless Leader

By J. C. LONG

AUTHOR OF *Bryan, the Great Commoner*

SINCE William Jennings Bryan's death, the various political reminiscences of his contemporaries, most of his biographers, and the most recent work on the man by the late Paxton Hibben,* have served to dispel two major traditions about him which were current during his life.



PAXTON HIBBEN

The legend that Bryan came to the 1896 Democratic Convention as a nonentity and captured the nomination solely through an eloquent speech is thoroughly exploded. It has become well established that Bryan at that time was already one of the conspicuous fig-

ures of his party, even though Eastern Democrats doubted his ability to put himself at the head of the ranks.

It is equally evident today that Bryan's espousal of the "free silver" cause was not the act of a dangerous crank promoting a bizarre idea. The United States had had bimetallism during most of its history. William McKinley had been a bimetalist during his Congressional days. The adoption of a gold standard did discriminate against creditors who had made contracts during the days of bimetallism. Only the fortuitous discovery of huge gold supplies in the late '90s nullified the suffering which would otherwise have resulted from the 1896 commitment to the single standard.

The diligent research of the late Paxton Hibben not only brings further testimony

**The Peerless Leader, William Jennings Bryan.* By Paxton Hibben. New York: Farrar & Rinehart. 446 pages, 1929. \$5.

to these points, but also recites in reasonable completeness the major events of the man's career.

Every biographer is faced with the responsibility of selection, emphasis and point of view. Mr. Hibben has been able to see very little that was admirable in his subject at any point. Even Bryan's good works, the author evidently feels, were undertaken with wholly selfish motives. At times the criticism is pressed rather hard: "Fear was a large part of William Jennings Bryan's mental equipment. He could not be free of it, try as he would." When the Peerless leader made his initial speech in Congress which brought him to national attention, the author sees the situation with the eyes of ridicule. Referring to Bryan's talents on this occasion, the writer comments, "he threw them all into the great adventure like some prodigal virgin hot upon surrender."

Possibly, the most striking note in this interpretation of the Commoner is the recurrent emphasis that he was effeminized. The father, Silas Bryan, a circuit judge, was away from home a good bit when William was young. There were various forceful women in the household. "It was probably the enduring influence of the circle of women that, in his childhood, put its mark upon him for life. He was secretive as a woman is, reluctant to trust any one, least of all herself."

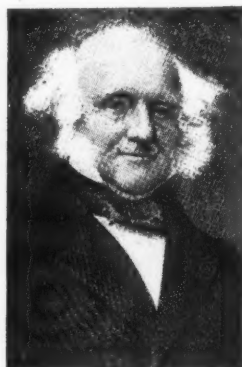
C. Hartley Grattan has accomplished with marked success the difficult task of completing another's work. The chapters after the 1904 period are his. In them he preserves faithfully the style and approach of the author.

Van Buren, Politician and President

By WILLIAM MacDONALD
AUTHOR AND EDITOR

MR. LYNCH'S well-written and scholarly book* is undoubtedly the best life of Van Buren that we have. It is better than the book by Edward M. Shepard in the American Statesmen se-

ries, partly because Mr. Lynch has had



MARTIN VAN BUREN

access to important material which Shepard, writing more than forty years ago, did not have, and partly because, while on the whole friendly, it is neither uncritical nor partisan. Its main defect is in the disproportionate amount of space which it gives to Van Buren's early public life, when he was in the thick of the

fight between the Livingston and Clinton factions in New York and was learning the arts of intrigue and "trimming" which he was later to carry to relative perfection in the notorious Albany Regency. There is this excuse for loading his pages as Mr. Lynch does with the details of New York State politics, that it was in that field that Van Buren established his reputation as a politician and won the influence which opened to him the way to the Presidency. Where a man attains the Presidency, however, and serves a term which, as in Van Buren's case, appears as a kind of watershed between one historical period and another, the detailed experiences of his earlier years come to seem relatively unimportant, and many readers of Mr. Lynch's book will be likely to feel that Van Buren was a long time getting under way, and that his course was often hard to understand.

The chief question to be asked of any such book is whether it changes, in any important respects, the accustomed view of its subject. History has pictured Van Buren as a master-builder of the spoils system, as an adroit Secretary of State who endeared himself to Jackson in the Mrs. Eaton scandal, as Jackson's choice first for the Vice Presidency and then for the Presidency, as a President who did not wince when the financial panic which Jackson had prepared burst upon him, and as a leader who in the one courageous moment of his public life sacrificed a later Democratic nomination for the Presidency because of his opposition to the extension of slavery.

Mr. Lynch has not, I think, materially altered this picture, although he has given

**An Epoch and a Man. Martin Van Buren and His Times.* By Denis Tilden Lynch. New York: Horace Liveright. 1929. \$5.

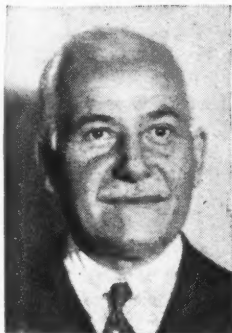
it a background which tends to temper criticism. We are shown the dignity and kindness of Van Buren's private life, the thoughtfulness and aristocratic reserve which were often mistaken for hesitancy, and the evidences of a personal popularity which increased with the years. There are vivid and intimate glimpses of the Washington society of Van Buren's time, and interesting accounts of journeys and public appearances. But the man himself as a public figure does not change. It was to Van Buren, more than to any one else, that we owe the spoils system in national politics. Van Buren played skillfully and with apparent zest the Jackson game which left Calhoun the loser, and if he differed from his chief, as apparently he did in the treatment of nullification in South Carolina, his dissent was not pressed. His business as well as political sense told him that the panic of 1837 had best be left to run its course.

America Conquers Britain

By NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT
AUTHOR OF *America and England*

IN spite of a contentious and misleading title Ludwell Denny's analysis of the fundamental causes of Anglo-American rivalry in his recently published book* deserves the close attention of all students of international affairs.

Mr. Denny has set himself the task of puncturing many illusions and of directing thinking along factual lines about Anglo-American relations. The story, in summary, is simply this: that the United States is gradually supplanting Great Britain as the greatest economic and political power in the world, and that in so doing she is stepping on England's toes throughout the world. Great Britain,



Associated Press

SIR HENRY DETERDING
President of the Dutch
Shell Oil Company

**America Conquers Britain*. By Ludwell Denny. 429 pages. New York: Alfred Knopf. \$4.

weakened by the war and impoverished as a result of the loss of industrial leadership, looks upon the growing power of the United States with the same disapproval that she reserved for all those, from Spain in 1588 to Germany in 1914, who tried to become greater than Britain.

Beginning with a plea for "thinking of the unthinkable" he marshalls the indications and statements of Englishmen, Americans and Europeans which suggest the danger to world peace underlying the distrust, suspicion and hostility of the two peoples for each other. He discusses the decline of British industrial supremacy and the rise of the American. The struggle for markets is clearly brought out, and much material mustered to prove that the rivalry is more acute than the spokesmen of either government would have their own people or the world believe.

In detail he describes England's efforts to check American expansion, and shows how Great Britain has used against us our own weapon of the protective tariff. He analyzes the extent to which Canada is under American influence, and points out how dependent the world has become on American capital. In the control of raw materials he shows that the United States has certain marked advantages, but insists that England is working silently and effectively to gain control of all raw material supplies outside of the United States which her capitalists can obtain. A chapter on oil summarizes Mr. Denny's previous book, *We Fight for Oil*, which showed how successfully Great Britain had "got the jump" on the United States in the matter of controlling the untouched oil reserves of the world. Finally he discusses the control of nitrates, of air lines, of cables and of the seas. His general conclusion is that it is America's "day."

Minor and unimportant errors of fact and judgment may be found, but they count for little when contrasted with the vast amount of useful and accurate information which is contained in the 400 long pages of this book, and with the shrewd interpretations which he places on many of the subjects discussed. Most Englishmen and nearly all Americans have no knowledge of the conditions which he describes. And only by facing them fully and frankly will it be possible ever to establish friendly relations on a firm basis, beyond the reach of propagandists. Americans must realize that many acts

of Englishmen which to Americans seem the result of ignorance, malice or hate are, in the final analysis, the actions of men who see their very livelihood threatened.

Mr. Denny's pessimism has led him to understress the factors making for peace. Of these the greatest by far is the virtual certainty that the Empire could not possibly survive a war with the United States. For America such a war would be merely a temporary check. Under these circumstances it is safe to say that while war is not unthinkable, it is highly improbable, for the reason that it would no longer profit England to embark upon it. But the economic struggle will persist—at least for a number of decades.

The Iskra Period

By V. F. CALVERTON

EDITOR, BOOK LEAGUE OF AMERICA

EVER SINCE the success of the Bolshevik revolution the world has been confronted with the logic of Leninism as a driving force in contemporary society. In the early days that succeeded the war Europe was seized with the convulsions of revolt. Insurrections, in many instances directly inspired by Bolshevik logic, sprang up in the flash of wild enthusiasms. In Luxemburg, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary and Oriental Galicia, Soviet republics rose and fell with explosive suddenness. The logic of Leninism lived in these struggles as a dynamic force motivating men to action.

The two volumes of Lenin here reviewed* demonstrate the clarity and conviction that existed in Lenin's mind as to the nature of revolutionary tactics long before the Russian revolution occurred. From the very point at which the plans for the organization of the magazine



From *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism*, Knopf
LENIN

Iskra were laid to the days of the revolution itself, Lenin pursued an undeviating approach and policy. His end, revolution, was always clear. His tool, Marxism, was always steadfast and reliable.

The founding of *Iskra* (*Iskra* means "spark" in English) in 1900 was an event of great importance in the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia. It provided a periodical in which a militant Marxism could spread and thrive. Around this periodical, as about a dynamic, energy-giving magnet, gathered that early group of "professional revolutionists" who were later to be so instrumental in achieving the victory of the Bolshevik revolution.

The early conflicts in the organization of *Iskra* were ominous of the theoretical struggles that later were to intensify and grow. The first conflict was between Plekhanov and Lenin over the former's editorial tactics. Lenin's reaction to Plekhanov's attempt to gain control of the magazine was instantaneous. "My infatuation for Plekhanov," he wrote, "disappeared as if by magic," and, it should be added, it never returned.

Once organized, *Iskra* directed its first attacks against the Economists, who, in opposition to the Marxists, wished to confine their tactics to the trade-union movement instead of extending them into every field in an endeavor to overthrow the ruling class. Without *Iskra* the victory of the Marxists over the Economists might never have been won, and it was just as successful in fighting other groups that threatened to weaken the revolutionary movement by their doctrines. Nevertheless, it should not be thought that in his zeal Lenin sacrificed anything of his genius as a strategist. While he unswervingly assailed the logic of the liberals while accepting their aid, he was not blind to the cooperation of groups that were radical, however unattached they might be to his own party. The Bund (Jewish Revolutionary League) is a case in point. It was Plekhanov who wanted to exclude the Bund from the Social-Democratic party and not Lenin, who argued for its inclusion. Yet Lenin was opposed to terrorism as a tactic, because it retarded rather than strengthened the labor movement. He advocated the substitution of agitation for terror.

Lenin's whole plan of campaign and the underlying spirit of *Iskra* were laid bare

**The Iskra Period*. VI. Lenin. 2 vols. International Publishers. 1929. \$8.

in his article in *Iskra* on "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement," wherein he said:

We must train people who shall devote to the revolution not only their spare evenings, but the whole of their lives; we must build up an organization so large as to be able to introduce division of labor in the various forms of our work . . . If we have a strongly organized party, a single strike may grow into a political demonstration, into a political victory over the government. If we have a strongly organized party, a rebellion in a single locality may flare up into a victorious revolution. We must bear in mind that the fight against the government for certain demands, the gain of certain concessions, are merely slight skirmishes with the enemy, slight skirmishes of outposts, but that the decisive battle still lies ahead.

These were the words of a man who was a social engineer—an engineer of revolutions. While most thinkers would disagree with the end he sought, few would disagree with his genius for adapting his means toward the end. There are many European thinkers of today who are opposed to Leninism as a philosophy and yet who cannot but admire Lenin as an exponent of that philosophy.

The Jews in the Christian Era

By LEO GERSHOY

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY

FEW topics have the perennial interest that the problem of Jewish-Christian relations exercises over thinking men and women. Unfortunately too many works have exploited this fascination in a spirit unworthy of the subject. For some writers it has afforded an opportunity to indulge in learned vituperation; for others an occasion for allowing steaming emotions to evaporate. Mr. Magnus's volume is a welcome exception to such characteristic works.* His learning is not filed down to a dagger point of polemic, and the intensity of his feelings does not betray him into splenetic righteousness.

Both the title and the sub-title of his

work must be borne in mind in order to understand the purpose back of his writing. He has traced the Jewish answer to the eternal problem of Jewish life—"how to share the world's wide interests and its truest culture, and yet, with all this, how to retain an unconquerable devotion to Jewish ideals"—from the time of Philo, contemporary of Jesus, to the age of Moses Mendelssohn, "the Luther of Jewish reform, and the Socrates of Jewish philosophy." It is no dreary compilation of names and accomplishments that he has written. On the contrary, his pages throb with life. Jewish thinkers and Jewish thought, religious leaders and their dogma, the molding influences of economic rivalry of Jew and Christian, social ostracism, political mistrust and exploitation, the more subtle interaction of instinctive aversion, all these are presented in his pages not as isolated phenomena, but as illustrations of a central doctrine. That doctrine, dear to Mr. Magnus's heart, is the deep, abiding conviction that Judaism had and still has today certain vital gifts which it profits the Christian world to receive.

He begins his survey with the foundation of the Christian era. The first chapter contains a noteworthy passage concerning the great Philo of Alexandria, the Jewish Plato, whose message the Jews would not hear, whose extension of Jewish law into "cosmic and universal use" was defeated. From the work of scholastic Judaism and the consolation of Jerusalem which sustained the Jews in the early centuries of the Christian era, he goes on to the ordeal of the Jews through the dark Middle Ages, to the oft-told story of stranded survivors on alien shores. There are two chapters on the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. What concerns the writer most in this work is the inner history of the Jewish communities. There are several chapters leading up to the Jewish Reformation and two concluding chapters on Spinoza, the seeker after the Infinite, and Moses Mendelssohn, "the type of modern Jew." The chapter on the latter is disappointingly meager, particularly because Mr. Magnus leads his reader to expect a long account of the individual who preached the most noble message ever proclaimed by a modern Jew.

Magnus's characterization of Mendelssohn explains why the volume ends with the eighteenth century. Mr. Magnus feels

**The Jews in the Christian Era. From the First to the Eighteenth Century. Their Contribution to Civilization.* By Laurie Magnus. 426 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$5.

that circumstances have conspired since then to make the Jews repudiate Mendelssohn. "They took shelter again," he writes, "behind Jerusalem, no longer extending it, like their greatest thinkers, to frontiers co-terminous with the universe, nor placing their genius for politics at the free disposal of mankind, but intent on safety first in their own boundaries, as a refuge at once from the lure of assimilation and from the experience of hate." He leaves the Jews and their problem in the eighteenth century "in a more hopeful position than in the first," which, interpreted, means more hopeful than in the twentieth.

That there will be many to agree with him in his belief that Hebraism and Hellenism must remain in permanent alliance for the sake of civilization is certain. That many others will regret his denial of Zionism is equally certain. And that he has interpreted a vital problem with honesty, intelligence, and literary art is most certain of all.

Recent Important Books

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

BIOGRAPHY

LUDWIG, EMIL. *Lincoln*. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. Boston: Little Brown, 1930. \$5.

While the book contributes nothing that is new to our knowledge of Lincoln's life and contains some misapprehensions of fact, it is nevertheless a very readable summary.

NITTI, FRANCESCO FAUSTO. *Escape: The Personal Narrative of a Political Prisoner Who Was Rescued from Lipari, the Fascist "Devil's Island."* New York: Putnam, 1930. \$2.50.

A book which the Fascist Government has attempted to suppress.

ROBERTSON, WILLIAM SPENCE. *Life of Miranda*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, two volumes, 1930. \$10.

An amazing narrative of the life of the Venezuelan adventurer who fought in our own Revolution and in the French Revolution, and who finally died in prison as a result of his unsuccessful attempt to free his native country from the rule of Spain.

HISTORY

MILLER, HENRY W. *The Paris Gun*. New York: Cape & Smith, 1930. \$3.75.

The dramatic story of the bombardment of Paris during the World War by guns with a range of seventy-five miles, written by an artillery officer in the American Expeditionary Forces.

PALMER, JOHN MCAULEY. *Washington, Lincoln, Wilson: Three War Statesmen*. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1930. \$5.

A review of our military history which attempts to show that our failure to adopt a plan for conscription, advocated by Washington, is responsible for great loss of life and treasure during the Civil and World Wars.

STAAL, BARON DE. *Correspondence Diplomatique (1884-1900) Publie par Alexandre Meyendorff*. Paris: Riviere, two volumes, 1930. 100 francs.

Baron de Staal was the Russian Ambassador at London for fifteen years and his account of British affairs and of her foreign relations is of great interest and value.

ECONOMICS

CROWTHER, SAMUEL. *Prohibition and Prosperity*. New York: John Day, 1930. \$1.

By the simple process of neglecting all other elements in the problem, the author proves conclusively that we owe our national prosperity to prohibition.

DAVIS, JOSEPH STANCLIFFE. *The Farm Exports Debenture Plan*. Stanford University, Food Research Institute, 1929. \$3.

A scholarly exposition and analysis of the debenture plan. Its conclusions are in general unfavorable to the idea.

DORR, RHETA CHILDE. *Drink: Coercion or Control?* New York: Stokes, 1929. \$2.50.

A study of the control of the liquor traffic in England and Canada, Norway and Sweden, and of prohibition in Finland, where existing conditions in the United States are duplicated.

FISHER, IRVING. *The Stock Market Crash and After*. New York: Macmillan, 1930. \$2.

One of our leading economists analyzes the causes and consequences of the recent Wall Street crisis.

FRANKFURTER, FELIX, and GREENE, NATHAN. *The Labor Injunction*. New York: Macmillan, 1930. \$5.

Discusses the scope of labor injunctions and their enforcement, legislation related to them and future public policy.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD. *Cost of Government in the United States, 1927-28*. New York: The Board, 1930. \$2.50.

"A comprehensive account of the financial operations of Federal, State and local governments." The seventh of an annual series.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD. *Picture of World Economic Conditions*

in 1929. New York: The Board, 1929. \$2.50.

The second volume of an annual series giving authoritative information regarding industrial production, wages and employment, prices, foreign trade and conditions of public and private finance in twenty-one foreign countries and in the United States.

PERSON, H. S. *Scientific Management in Industry*. New York: Harper, 1930. \$6.

The Taylor Society presents a symposium, by twenty-six experts, of the latest developments in scientific management, showing how it is humanizing industry.

STERN, S. *Fourteen Years of European Investments, 1914-1928*. New York: Bankers Publishing Company, 1930. \$5.

Based on markets records, this study shows what would have been the return from an investment of \$25,000, half in bonds and half in stock, in each of thirteen European countries, as compared with a similar investment in the United States and Canada. By a vice president of the Equitable Trust Company.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

DAVIS, JOHN W. *Party Government in the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1929. \$1.25.

A brief but a very thoughtful and interesting summary of the place of party in American life, by a former Ambassador to Great Britain.

HAYES, CARLTON J. H. *France, a Nation of Patriots*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. \$4.50.

An investigation of French propaganda through the schools, the newspapers, the cinema, &c., to stimulate and to inflame the nationalistic spirit.

SIEGFRIED, ANDRE. *France: A Study in Nationality*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. \$2.

The gifted author of "America Comes of Age" has now given us a brilliant summary of French political characteristics.

MISCELLANEOUS

ARMSTRONG, HAROLD. *Turkey and Syria Reborn*. London: John Lane, 1930. 15 shillings.

A picture of present conditions in the Near East by an experienced and observant traveler.

MENNINGER, KARL. *The Human Mind*. New York: Knopf, 1930. \$5.

An illuminating analysis of various types of mental maladjustment, the victims of which require sympathy and proper treatment rather than unintelligent condemnation.

NATIONAL SOCIETY OF PENAL INFORMATION. *Handbook of American Prisons and Reformatories*, 1929. New York: The Society, 1929. \$4.

The frequency with which the newspapers have reported revolts in our prisons is directing attention to their unsatisfactory condition. This descriptive account, the result of a personal examination of institutions in each of the States, is very useful in revealing the present situation.

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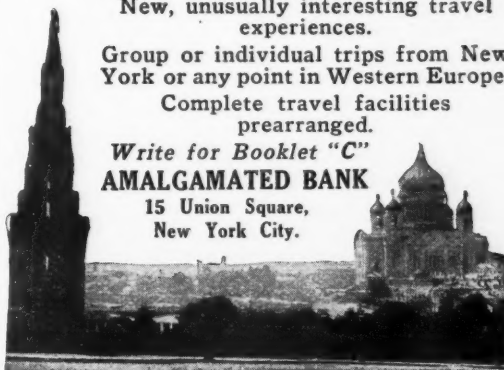
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World Finance—A Month's Survey

By BERNHARD OSTROLENK

EDITORIAL BOARD, *The Annalist*; FORMER LECTURER ON FINANCE,
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

DRASTIC PRICE declines of wholesale commodities in recent months have emphasized the sagging tendency of world prices during the last few years. Record low prices have, in recent weeks, been established for silk, coffee, sugar, silver, rubber, tea and cocoa. Such commodities as wheat and cotton and most of the non-ferrous metals are running at low prices. Uneasiness at this tendency has been expressed by Professor Fisher, who represents a school of thought that associates price declines with gold shortage. "The present situation," Dr. Fisher is quoted as saying, "will precipitate a collapse in prices. Business prosperity is threatened by a shortage of gold."

Economists are not agreed on this relation of gold to prices, nor is the lowering of commodity prices regarded as necessarily calamitous to business activity. Lower international prices may decrease the value of products transferred from one country to another, but generally stimulates the volume of such transfers. International trade, when summed up in dollars, may show drastic reduction, but when examined in units of commodities shipped may show substantial increases.

This drop in prices, however, becomes a serious element in dislocating trade when the price of any one commodity on which the country depends for its exports drops to disproportionately low levels. The drop in coffee prices to levels much lower than the average drop in international prices severely pruned the income of Brazil and Haiti, where coffee is virtually the only export. The drop in wheat prices similarly curtailed the purchasing power of Argentina and threatens to have economic consequences of importance to Canada. The decline in silver almost paralyzed China's foreign trade. These declines were much more drastic

than normal world declines and therefore reduced the purchasing power of the nations depending on these exports and seriously curtailed imports, and from that standpoint contributed to business depression. This is not so true of countries with diversified import and export trade, such as the United States, Great Britain, Germany or France. The general decline in prices leaves the trade largely unaffected, but even here may disturb a section of the country when the decline in any one commodity is more drastic than the general decline.

When we attempt to associate the decline in commodity prices with a world gold shortage the case is not so clear. The argument is that, because of a diminishing amount of gold as a money base, there is less money in circulation relative to goods and that therefore money becomes scarcer and higher in price, which also means that goods are exchanged for less money and hence seek a lower price level.

Even if this premise be granted, and it is not generally admitted, the decline in prices during the past years cannot be associated with a gold shortage because there has been no gold shortage. According to the London *Economist*, world gold production has increased at the rate of 2.9 per cent during the period from 1914 to 1929. Gold holdings and treasury stocks in central banks have increased 4.9 per cent during the period. For purposes of studying gold as a monetary base this later figure is of importance, though it means that central banks have not only absorbed the increased production of gold but also have withdrawn gold from the arts. The central banks' increases in gold holdings of 4.9 per cent compare with the estimated needed increase in world volume of money of about 3 per cent. Gold holdings, therefore, have increased 34 per cent rather more rapidly than

retical increase in money appears to need. The withdrawal of gold from the arts, and the consequent scarcity of gold, which, according to gold theorists, would still make for lower prices, needs to be offset by two considerations: the increase in note issue and the pyramiding of credit, both based on the additional gold holdings and both augmenting the circulation of money.

From 1913 to 1929 gold holdings in central banks of the United States have increased 101 per cent, while France has increased only 15 per cent, Great Britain has lost 2 per cent, Germany has lost 4 per cent, and Russia has lost 80 per cent of her gold stock.

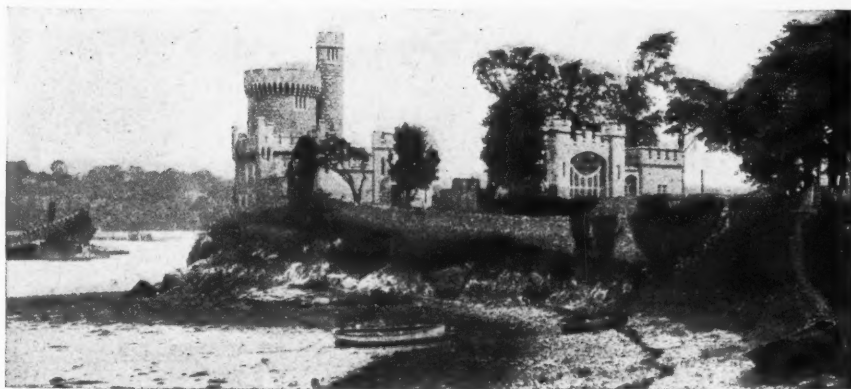
Clearly, the United States has during the period received more than her share of gold. The price level in the United States, therefore, should mount with the volume of gold if the relation between price level and gold were clear cut. Important raw commodity prices, it can be shown, have, during this period, responded to forces which show no relation to gold. The rise and fall of cotton

prices can be related to the yield and consumption; the low prices of most agricultural commodities are definitely related to overproduction.

Monopolies, export corporations, cartels, government control of coffee in Brazil, sugar in Cuba, rubber in Great Britain, wheat and cotton in the United States and wheat in Canada, are only a few illustrations of attempts to cope with the surplus production and the consequent lowering of prices.

The magnet which in recent years has drawn gold to the United States has been the stock market. With the collapse in prices of securities last October, there has started a steady flow of gold away from the United States. But recent weakness which has developed in European exchanges has threatened to reverse the outflow.

In brief, while it is not improbable that a gold shortage for monetary purposes will develop should production decline further, the present "scramble for gold" is the consequence of maldistribution and not of shortage.



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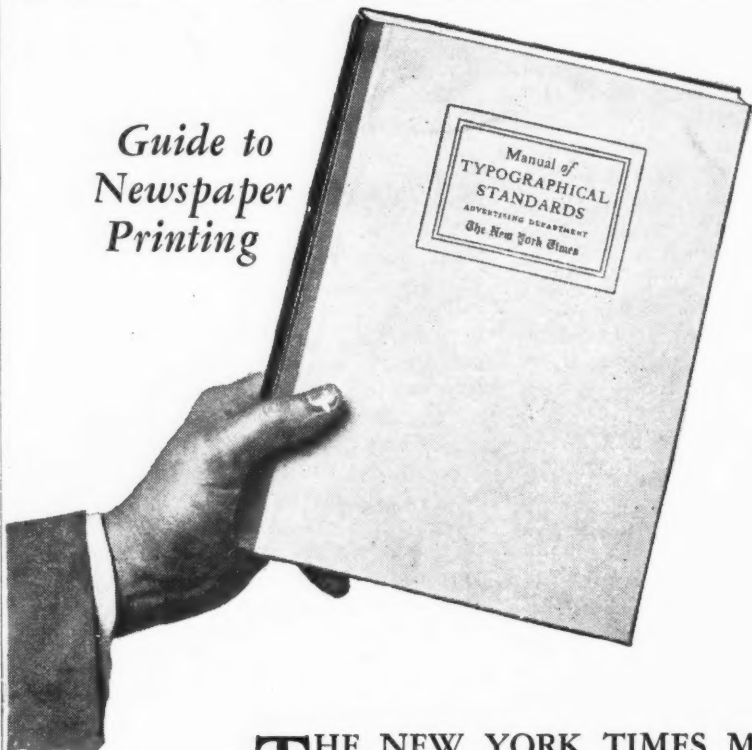
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